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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE

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FRANCE V. SCHOLES

THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

VOLUME XXVII
1952

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
AND THE
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

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NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW

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New Mexico Historical Review



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

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January, 1952

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVII

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RANCHING IN NEW MEXICO, 1886-90

By A. B. WADLEIGH *

MY people had always stuck to the Atlantic Coast; my father's family was from Maine, and my mother's from Philadelphia. As a matter of fact I do not believe that any of them had ever been west of the Mississippi river; to them, Pittsburgh was West. From the time that I began to read, I preferred books about the West: travel, history and fiction. It happened that I went to school in Racine, Wisconsin, where there were sons of several of the Pioneers of the Far West: Paxton, whose father was a big cowman and plainsman; Kuykendall, whose father had been a Pony Express Rider. The tales I heard from them made me decide that when I was old enough I would follow their trail.

When I was about sixteen years old, I heard that a friend of the family had decided to invest in a cow ranch in New Mexico; this was my chance. After much persuasion my mother gave her consent to my starting out. I was pretty strong and husky for my age and of course considered myself a man. What a grand time I had selecting and buying my outfit: blankets, flannel shirts and strong clothes, no khaki in those days; a forty-four Winchester rifle, a forty-five Colt revolver, which I afterwards traded for a forty-four, so that I used the same cartridges for both, with a good supply of ammunition and a reloading outfit.

Early in April of 1886, I left by the way of Chicago for Socorro, New Mexico, a six day trip. I left Chicago at night,

* 3213 E. Presidio Dr., Tucson, Arizona.

arriving at Kansas City some time the next day. From the first crack of dawn I had my eyes glued to the car window: everything was new and different; at last I was in the real West, the Great American Desert that I had read and dreamed about.

West of Topeka the towns were small and scattering: Dodge City, not long past its hectic days; Garden City with more lots staked out than houses; here and there a sod house, at every stop cowboys and ranchers. Fort Lyon, one of the early frontier posts, could be seen among the trees. I am not sure whether it was abandoned or not. Early one morning as we neared La Junta, Pike's Peak loomed up in the west, the wonderful Rockies at last. Soon we were at Trinidad with its Fisher's Peak, scene of an Indian fight, up the grade along the Old Santa Fe Trail, past Uncle Bob Watson's cabin—it was a hard climb; we had, I think, three locomotives; then through Raton Tunnel to Raton and New Mexico, on past Springer and Wagon Mound, with wonderful views of the Spanish Peaks to the north, into Las Vegas, where I had my first sight of Mexicans, on down to the Rio Pecos; to the south we could see Starvation Peak; then up a hard grade to the Glorieta Pass, through Apache Canyon down to the Rio Grande. At Albuquerque we had to change. This was not much of a place then, almost no houses east of the track and, so far as I could see, only a few stores and houses along Railroad Ave. on the way to Old Albuquerque. Early the next morning we arrived at Socorro, which was to be the end of my railroad journey.

There I was met by Curwen, who was one of the partners in the ranch that I was headed for. He took me to the old Windsor Hotel run by Henry Lockhart, well known in this country and a fine host. Socorro was a typical New Mexican town. The houses were built of adobe (sundried bricks), with a Park or Plaza in the middle of the town, which, except for a few modern and ugly buildings, looks much the same today. There is an old church there.

We spent several days here while I got the rest of my outfit. Curwen thought I had better buy a horse and saddle, which I did from a busted cowpuncher, the whole outfit cost-

ing me seventy-five dollars. The horse was a raw-boned buckskin, thin and hard looking, but, as I thought, he turned out to be a fine animal and carried me many a mile, a good saddle pony; fortunately for me he was too much ridden down to try any stunts. I was to go west to Magdalena, which was thirty-five miles or more. I was to ride with a cowboy who was going that way, but unfortunately he got drunk the night before, so it was go by myself or wait.

There was what was called a well defined trail over the mountains, which was supposed to cut off a good many miles from the wagon road. I was shown a Peak alongside of which the trail led and was told of another landmark which I could see when I got to the top of the divide.

I was a mighty proud boy the next morning when I got an early start on my way, Stetson hat, high heeled boots, chaps, a big gun in the belt around my waist, a rifle in its scabbard under my right leg. If there ever was a foolhardy tenderfoot, I was one. I had ridden horses a little on my Grandmother's farm, but could hardly be called a horseman; nevertheless I had the nerve or perhaps the lack of sense to start on a thirty mile ride, over a trail which was mostly not there, and a rough trail it was, up the side of mountains, along deep canyons where a misstep would mean a drop of many hundred feet; it is a wonder that I ever arrived at my destination. I did get to the top at last and saw my landmark, which looked only a few miles off; by that time I was pretty tired and sore. I had taken with me a couple of sandwiches and a canteen of water which helped some. After a couple hours more of riding, I had then been in the saddle about five hours, my horse played out so I walked and led him. I soon found out why cowboys never like to walk, every step was agony, and the more I walked the farther off my landmark got; I was foot sore, saddle sore, worn out and scared, but I kept on; finally, just as it was getting dark, I struck a road which I hoped led to Magdalena. I had not seen a soul all day. About nine o'clock I staggered in.

Curwen who had gone by train was getting worried, but had not started to look for me. After I had gotten some food

I went to bed. I thought I was sore then, but the next morning I could not get out of my bed, every bone, every muscle in my body was sore; I could not take a hot bath because there was no such thing. I did manage to get someone to rub me with liniment and I finally got as far as the dining room. I do not want to throw any bouquets at myself, but I doubt whether many other kids, who had been brought up as I was, would ever have made the trip. If I had known what it was to be, I would never have tried it and no one with good sense would have let me try it.

Magdalena was not much of a town to look at, probably a dozen or fifteen houses, including a Hotel, five or six saloons, a couple of small stores and the large store of Gross, Blackwell & Co., who were the general outfitters for the surrounding country. The town was the shipping and distributing point for an enormous country to the west, as large as some of the eastern states. It was tough because the country was tough. Nearby on the Magdalena Mountains was Kelly, a mining camp, which at that time employed a good many men; great ore wagons pulled by sixteen horses or mules took the ore to the railroad at Magdalena and hauled supplies back. There was never much love lost between the miners and the cowboys, so rows were common between them, often ending in gun play.

Everyone went armed. You were not dressed without a belt full of cartridges and a six shooter. The gun scabbard hung low on the right thigh, usually with the end tied down to allow the gun to be pulled out easily. I want to say that although the country was full of rustlers and bad men, I don't every remember seeing such an animal as a two-gun man, though I do not doubt but that some carried a small gun in a shoulder scabbard inside of their shirts. I never heard of a two-gun man until the Hollywood and the Drug Store Cowboy came on the scene. As our outfit was a new one, just starting, there were several four horse teams being loaded with various supplies for the ranch. Curwen and a couple of his boys rode to the ranch, leaving me to come with a neighbor in a buckboard as I was still pretty well crippled and the ranch was forty miles from town. After

loading the buckboard with various articles, including a stray cowboy and a good supply of whiskey, we left town.

The driver was a cowman well known in the country for his many escapades as well as for his team of runaway mules. Captain M. was a product of the early cattle days in Texas, a good man to his friends and a bad one to his enemies. Of course every cow outfit before leaving town loaded up with whiskey, inside and out. My companions were hilarious and no doubt more pleased to have a chance to show a tenderfoot a good time. The mules were jumping and pitching while we got in the wagon, then they were turned loose. I am sure for the first mile we never touched the ground, the wagon going from one side of the road to the other. When the team began to tire and settle down the Captain began to shoot at their heels, as did several cow punchers who were riding along side of us; all I could do was to look on and hold on. Every few miles all hands would stop and take a drink from one of the numerous bottles of which there seemed to be an unending supply. Notwithstanding our wild trip we arrived at the Durfee ranch in time for supper. Our final destination was about five miles from there up in the San Mateo Mountains, but as the big teams had not arrived we stayed here all night, leaving for our ranch early the next morning.

These were the days of the open range, there were no fences anywhere. The different cow outfits bought or held the few wells or water holes, this gave them free range for miles. The cattle were branded and turned loose and often strayed as much as a hundred miles from home.

Generally the ranches were known by their brand, our brand being C-N; our home ranch was known as the C-N ranch and all connected with it as the C-N outfit. The C-N ranch was in the north end of the San Mateo Range, in a wide canyon five or six miles from the plains and in a rolling and partly timbered country. The ranch house was a frame one; one large room ran the whole length of the building, about twenty by forty feet; there were two small rooms off of this in the front with a covered porch between them; in the back was a dining room and a small kitchen.

There were no beds but each man threw his bedroll on the floor. The windows had a sort of shield made of logs from the ground up to the middle of the windows, put there in case of an Indian attack. The house was on the trail that the Apaches and Navajos used going from the north to the south. To the north and west of us, at the mouth of the canyon, were the San Augustine Plains, which were rather oval in shape, probably one hundred and twenty-five miles long and fifty miles wide at the widest part, with mountains all around, an ideal cattle range; most of the water was in the mountains, the cattle ranging as far as ten miles out from the hills.

Ranch life in those days was pretty primitive; no radios, no telephones, or automobiles; the nearest neighbors from thirty to fifty miles away. Being a cow ranch there was no milk or butter, no ice; canned milk was never seen, nor were fresh vegetables or fruit. In summer, unless on roundup, fresh meat was seldom provided. Coffee, bread made from sour dough, salt pork (known as sow belly) beans and potatoes, once in a while canned tomatoes or corn, with as a great treat canned fruit or syrup, was the regular diet. If the outfit was large enough to sport a cook, sometimes one had cake, so called, or pie made from dried fruit. If there was no cook, one of the boys acted as such, usually taking turns, quantity not quality was the main thing. The hours in summer were from before daylight often till after dark, in winter the force was cut down; those kept did odd jobs, fencing horse pastures, repairing pipe lines and troughs or corrals. In the outlying camps, there were usually two boys who rode imaginary lines, turning back such cattle as were drifting too far.

There were many large cow outfits around us all the way to the Arizona line, among them were the 7-H-L, the Mule Shoe, the S-U, the H-V-T, the Wes Bruton and others. Just east of us was a horse ranch belonging to Al Clemens. Each outfit had its own watering places, but of course the cattle mixed at will, only being separated and thrown back on their own range in the summer roundup.

When I arrived at the ranch my first job was building

wooden troughs for the cattle, getting large poles for the corral and laying pipe lines, these lines were made of 1" x 4" lumber with white leaded joints; we made miles of this. As we were a new outfit just starting we had no cattle or horses, except a few saddle ponies and work horses; after I had been working for a couple of months, we bought a herd of horses, about one hundred head. These horses were given to me to herd. Every morning I took them out of the corral, driving them to some place where the grass was good, seeing that none strayed too far away; towards night I turned them back to the ranch, getting them in the corral before dark. This was not a hard job and I enjoyed it. I use to pick out what seemed to be the gentle ones to ride. But one morning as I was getting ready to start the boys were around the corral; they bantered me to ride a little black in the bunch. While I did not much hanker for it, I was not going to show that I was afraid. We got the saddle on and I tried to mount. Before I had hardly gotten one foot in the stirrup the pony began to buck and I was on the ground. The next try I got into the saddle, but was thrown; after five attempts I managed to stick it out. I was pretty well shaken up but I made up my mind that I would show that I had the nerve to stay with it. Of course this all furnished much amusement for the boys. I had only been at the ranch a few days when the teams and men were sent back to Magdalena for more supplies, leaving me alone at the ranch. I thought it fine. During the day a strange cowboy stopped for a while; he told me a lot about the Indians, who were supposed to be out on the warpath then, said that he had seen some Indian sign that day as he came along. He also told me how the Indians signalled to each other by imitating the cries of the birds and animals, such as owls and coyotes.

I got my supper, but when it began to get dark I was pretty nervous. I do not suppose that I had ever been actually alone in my life; here I was miles away from a human being. I heard lots of funny noises and just as I got into my bed, which was in the middle of the room, I heard what I knew must be a coyote and a weird sound they make; then that most mournful cry, that of a Boo Owl—was I scared,

I can feel it yet, how every hair on my head stood straight on end. I do not think that I slept any that night, every minute I expected to hear a shot or a war whoop. How glad I was when morning came and I found that I still had my scalp lock. I sure dreaded another night of it but just about dark the teams drove up so I was spared.

About eight miles from the home ranch, in the next canyon where it opened out on the plains, were a lot of big rocks, the place being called Point of Rocks. I had worked the horses out there as the grass was good and was letting them graze around. Just as I was sitting down to eat my lunch I saw a little way from the rest of the herd a couple of horses which I thought were wandering too far from the main bunch. I jumped on my horse and started after them. When I was about two hundred yards from some rocks, which stuck up, two Indians stepped out from behind the rocks and started shooting at me. I had not lost any Indians, so I rode as fast as I could to the horse herd and started them home on the run. When I had gotten them into the canyon I rode as hard as I could to the ranch for help, fortunately there were several boys there. We started back to the place where I had seen the Indians. When we got there we found the tracks of the two horses but the Indians were gone. A few days afterwards we heard that there had been a raid to the west and south of us, several ranchers having been killed.

A short time after this Curwen, who was away, wrote to us that he had contracted for several hundred head of cows and calves, which were to be delivered at San Antonio, New Mexico, a town between eighty and a hundred miles from the ranch. The foreman, whose name was El, and who was an old Texas cow hand, a good cow man and a real fellow to work with, got the outfit together, five or six boys, about fifty horses, a cook or grub wagon, and a cook. It took us three days to get to our destination; the next day the cattle arrived and we started for the ranch. It took us eight or ten days to get home as the cows were poor and we had to go slowly. When we arrived at the ranch, all the cows and calves had to be branded with the C-N; this was hard

hot work. As the cattle were branded they were turned out on the range, but for a few days they were herded and driven back to the corral for salt and water until they were used to the range.

It is a funny thing but cows and horses will often go back for long distances to the range they were raised on. The fact that we had bought some cattle along the Rio Grande, more than a hundred miles away, gave us lots of extra work as they kept straying back and we had to go after them. It was hard to work the river country where there were lots of small farms mostly fenced; whenever a cow happened to break into a fenced field there was always a row and damages to pay, and the Mexicans were not any too friendly, which made it harder. Several times at night, we broke open their corrals where they had our cattle penned and drove them to the hills; occasionally we were shot at, which shots we were certain to return. It got so that a lone cowboy was not safe in any of the Mexican towns. Most of the boys were Texans, who looked on the Mexicans as an inferior people, and they were generally overbearing and ready for a fight.

After we had gotten the cattle branded and turned out, I was sent about five miles from the home ranch to another canyon to start a horse camp. First we built a small frame house near a spring. I was left there with a deaf mute for a partner. Our first job was to make some troughs and pipe water several miles down the canyon; when this job was finished, we cut fence posts and set them around six hundred and forty acres, quite a job for two men. Dummy and I got on fine, but he kept me busy at night writing on his little tablet as he was a great talker in this way. I began to get pretty good at talking with my hands. I did all the cooking and soon was a fair camp cook.

All through this part of the county there was lots of game, bear, deer, turkey, and out on the plains and along the foothills there were thousands of antelope. The latter fed along with the cattle and were pretty tame. One day I found a little antelope fawn which I roped and took back to the ranch with me; it soon became tame and stayed

around the ranch until it became grown, when one night it disappeared. It made a great pet but was into everything and was rather a nuisance. Another time I roped a turkey gobbler, getting it around a wing; it was a huge one weighing more than twenty-five pounds; we had a grand dinner out of it.

About the middle of the summer the outfit went to join a roundup, which was to work our country. On a certain day all concerned were to meet at a place about thirty miles from the ranch, on the other side of the plains and started from there. Our outfit consisted of a grub wagon, which was an ordinary springless farm wagon with a canvas cover; at the rear end a box was built about four feet higher than the wagon bed, arranged with shelves and small compartments and about three feet deep; the back was on hinges with a swinging leg which when let down served as a table on which the cook worked. The various compartments of the box were used to carry the grub and various eating and cooking utensils; between the seat and the grub box, heavy supplies and utensils were carried, also the bedrolls of the boys.

A bedroll usually consisted of a canvas sheet or tarpaulin, in which were placed such bedding as the owner had, along with his personal effects; the tarpaulin doubled back so as to make a more or less rainproof bed. Each morning these bedrolls were rolled up and tied, then thrown into the wagon. The wagon, which was pulled by four horses was driven by the cook. On each side of the wagon bed a water barrel was usually fastened and as well as innumerable buckets, which were swung underneath or tied on the side. We had five or six riders, each one of which had his "string" of five to eight horses which had been assigned to him, none of these even the boss could ride without his permission.

Far-off outfits usually send one or two boys who were called "Reps," and were assigned to one of the wagons, so that there might be from ten to fifteen boys with each wagon to be cooked for. Of course all of the cooking had to be done on an open fire; the meat and bread were cooked in big

Dutch ovens, huge pots of coffee were always on the fire; sometimes the meat was roasted on a sort of spit over the coals.

The day we arrived at the rendezvous we found that several of the outfits had not showed up, so we decided to camp and wait for them. This time was spent in various ways, shoeing horses and all sorts of cowboy sports, foot races, horse races, roping and shooting at a mark. There was not a really good shot in the outfit, in fact I found that very few cowboys really were. After all who were expected had arrived, the bosses elected a captain of the roundup, always an experienced cowman, who knew the country which was to be worked. He had absolute say about everything; usually the man whose range was being worked was sort of Chief of Staff.

The next morning before daylight we had breakfast, the horses were driven up, when each rider picked out and saddled the horse he was going to ride. The Captain then designated where the next camp was to be, usually ten or more miles away, how far depended on the lay of the land and the number of cattle. Each pair or squad would ride to the point indicated for them, then turn and drive all the cattle they saw to the point of the roundup, usually getting in about noon. All of the cattle were then thrown into a herd, some of the boys holding them while the others ate lunch. After this the hard work began, the herd was divided, or cut as it is called; if it was a summer roundup, the cows and calves were put in one bunch, the calves being branded, the animals which belonged on this range were turned loose, those which were away from their own range were put into a separate herd called the "Hold." By the time this was all done it was supper time, if not after dark. The "Hold" herd was driven to a level spot nearby and the cowboys divided into watches, usually each watch guarded the herd for two hours when they called the next watch to relieve them—good weather or bad, it was all the same.

Often some small noise would scare the cattle and then the thing which all cowmen dreaded, a stampede, was on. The cattle would run for miles before they could be turned.

This was dangerous work, riding at top speed in the dark over unknown ground with a bunch of wild cattle after you; if your horse stumbled and threw you, you would be killed or at least badly hurt by the cattle who would run right over you. The only thing to be done was, if possible, to get in the lead, then by shooting, yelling or waving your coat or slicker, turn the leaders, so that the bunch would run in a circle, called milling; after a while they would quiet down so that they could be held till daylight. Often the whole herd scattered so that all the work of gathering had to be done over again. I remember one night, dark and stormy, when there was a stampede, the cattle ran straight for camp; the cook, who was getting breakfast, had a hard time saving himself; as it was the cattle ran right through the fire where the cook had all his meal cooking, scattering pots and pans and grub all over the landscape. Only one who has been through a stampede, especially of a bunch of wild steers, knows what a wild and thrilling thing it is.

We managed to get through this roundup without any great trouble and after about eight weeks' work came back to our own ranch, driving such of our brand as we had picked up. While we were away the men who were left home had been riding the range, branding calves, treating the stock for screw worms, pulling them out of bog holes, keeping busy all the time.

One day I rode up to a bog hole, where I found a poor old skinny cow down in the mud; throwing my rope over her horns I pulled her out with my pony. I had trouble in getting my rope off of her so I got down off of the pony, thinking that the cow was too weak to bother me, but when I got the rope off of her horns she started after me. I was some little distance from my horse, which was standing with his bridle reins down. The only way I could keep from getting hooked was to grab the cow's tail, she being too weak to throw me off, so there we went round and round in a circle. It was a question which of us was the most played out. I managed to work her over near my horse; giving her a pull which threw her on her haunches, I was able to get on the horse. The old lady took after us and it was only

by a hard ride that I was able to keep the horse from being gored.

Late that fall, three of us were sent to look after any cattle that had drifted back to the Rio Grande. We went to San Marcial and worked from there north, having lots of fun but much trouble with the Mexicans. At one place we found several of our cows and calves hidden out in an old adobe, some had their brands burned over; of course we took them. Soon about a dozen Mexicans came after us shooting as they came, so we had to shoot our way out; no one was hurt and we got the cattle away but we thought it best to keep on going to our own range. I afterwards found out that the Mexicans had sworn out warrants against us and if we had been caught there would have been serious trouble.

All during this spring and summer there were numerous Indian rumors. It was reported that a number of Navajos, who were to the north of us, had broken out and were stealing horses and cattle and killing ranchers; also to the southwest the Apaches were raiding and killing some people. We were never troubled with them but we were always on the lookout.

One day one of the neighbors and I started to town in a buckboard; as we crossed the north end of the plain we saw what be believed to be a bunch of Indians coming from the north who were evidently trying to head us off. We naturally thought that our time had come, but we were well armed and resolved to sell our lives as dearly as possible. My partner, who was an old plainsman, told me to drive as fast as I could and he would do the shooting. We hoped to reach the timber before they could get to us. Believe me those mules of ours made time but as we swung down a draw we saw the Indians ahead of us on both sides of the road; there was no use trying to go farther, so we pulled to one side where there were a few rocks and got behind the wagon. Soon the Indians saw us and started towards us on the run; just as we were about to shoot, the bunch stopped and one of them rode ahead holding up his right hand. This is the peace sign, so we waited until he came

up; he said that they were a bunch of scouts, and I could see that he had on a uniform. We were certainly relieved and such a laugh as the Indians gave us; soon after a squad of cavalry with a lieutenant in command rode up. We were pretty badly scared for if they had been hostiles we would not have had a chance in the world. This was the last time I ever saw any Indians in this section.

When winter came the force was cut down, so I decided that I would camp for the winter at a place back up in the mountains, where I could get some hunting as well as to see just how it went to camp off by myself. The spot which I had picked out had an old log house on it in fair repair; there was a fine big fireplace in it, which was an attraction. All of this together with a good spring close by made it an ideal place. I took a trip to town where I laid in a stock of grub and ammunition, enough to last me for several months, as I might get snowed in and could not tell when I would have another chance to get any. I had a collie dog and a little roan pony called Babe who was a great pet. I had bought a little supply of feed for him. At night I turned him loose with a bell on; early in the morning, too early sometimes, he would come to the door, shake his head so that the bell would ring and keep this up until I came out and fed him. The horse and dog were great friends and they were great company for me. Before very long considerable snow fell and it got pretty cold, but I did not mind that as I had laid in a good supply of wood. I was in a fine game country, I could get a deer at any time, with an occasional turkey and one bear.

I was well up in the San Mateo Mountains about half way up the slope, near the head of one of the canyons; back of me over the divide was a beautiful canyon, called Water Canyon, which ran for miles through the center of the range. It had running water and sometimes opened out into large meadows; there were plenty of trees, big pines, firs, spruce, mountain ash, and quaking aspen. Up where I was, in fact for miles below, there were no ranches and the country was wild and beautiful, full of wild cattle as well as all sorts of game. This would have been an ideal spot for a summer

camp but it was a hard climb to get into the canyon and just as hard to get out, there was not even a trail. I often wanted to follow down to the mouth of this canyon but never had a chance. At times I got lonesome, for weeks at a time I did not see a soul, but with plenty to eat and plenty to read I managed to stick it out for three or four months.

I was now getting to be a pretty good cook, so when I got back to the outfit I was given the job of cook. As soon as the grass was good enough we started out on a roundup with me installed as cook on the grub wagon; it was a hard job. We did have a little excitement on this trip. We had camped one night near Magdalena; this meant that three or four dozen cowboys rode into town to see just how good a time they could have. As we had some pretty hard characters in the bunch, several having been members of Billy the Kids gang (the Detrick Brothers) there was considerable drinking and rough stuff. A bunch of us were in a saloon and gambling house when one of the boys got into a row with a barkeeper. After some words, which I did not hear, the barkeeper reached for his gun and shot the other man, who in turn shot him, both of them falling dead. At this several of the cowboys pulled their guns and a general fight was on between them and the gamblers. The crowd I was with ran out and got on our horses; some of the saloon men followed us out and started shooting at us, which shots you may be sure we returned, so bullets were coming pretty thick and fast, but none of our bunch was hit; the net result of the fight was three men dead and a couple more wounded. The next night the whole outfit rode into town and gave the proprietor of the saloon the choice of leaving town or getting hung; he chose the former, but I always thought it was a pity we gave him any choice as he was a bad man and better out of the way. This sort of row was not unusual in the towns when drinking and gambling was going on.

About the time that we got back to the ranch, the other partner had come out from Philadelphia with a new wife; of course this caused considerable excitement as women were a scarce article around a cow ranch in those days. Everything was cleaned up and we were all on our best behavior.

The house was washed out, beds brought from town, also a woman cook, who did not last long, so much to my disgust I got the job.

We drove up a couple of cows to milk; both were wild range cows that never had been milked and of course objected very seriously. It was necessary to tie their heads to the fence, then by taking a small bucket in one hand, putting your head against the cows flank to keep her from kicking, using the other hand to milk, if you had luck you would get a couple of pints of milk. The pail was just as apt to get kicked and the milk spilled as not. It was considered quite a spectacle to watch the performance and the milker was given plenty of good advice as to the proper method. The doctor's wife thought all of this a very cruel and unnecessary performance and was sure she knew a better way.

One morning I saw her going out to the corral with a bucket and some sort of a small three-legged stool, which she had persuaded one of the boys to make. I was mean enough to say nothing as I had gotten all the blame for not getting more milk and treating the cows badly. Of course she picked out the worst cow to begin on; after much soothing talk and considerable effort she put the stool on the wrong side of the cow, sat down and started to milk, then things began to happen; the cow gave a bawl, struck out with a hind foot and there was a mixture of lady, bucket and stool scattered around the corral. Fortunately the lady was not seriously injured but never again were there any more remarks made about my method of milking.

Early in the summer my cousin Walter, with whom I had originally hoped to come west, but who had gotten a year's start on me, came down for a visit. Walter had taken up some land near Glorieta, about fifteen miles east of Santa Fe. His ranch was up in the mountains twenty-two miles by road from Glorieta. I was getting a little dissatisfied with things where I was, so I decided to go back with Walter and if after looking things over liked it better to throw in with him. I liked the country very much and after going into

the matter decided that it would be to my interest to move up with Walter, a decision I never regretted.

Walter was one of the finest men I ever knew, simple minded, clean and as straight as a string. I had managed by this time to get together a few head of cattle and I think four horses, so Walter and I drove down from Glorieta with his team prepared to drive my stock up to his place, a distance of two hundred miles. The roads were bad and what was much worse a good deal of the distance was through the Mexican settlements along the Rio Grande. We got an early start from the C-N and drove about fifteen miles the first day. One of us drove the team, usually with the spare horses tied on behind the wagon, the other drove the cattle.

The second night we camped along side of a deep canyon, through which the Rio Salado ran, starting down into the canyon the next morning. As it was about the end of the rainy season we had to look out for storms which we could see all around us. We managed to get through the canyon; it was hard work getting the wagon through as there was not much road and what there was, was badly washed. The river had cut through solid rock for a distance of about five miles, very narrow, with walls several hundred feet high. We had to cross the stream a good many times and in some cases had to pull the wagon with a saddle horse as well as the team. Just after we had gotten to where the canyon widened out, we heard a terrible roaring back of us. Looking up the canyon we could see an immense wall of water mixed with trees etc. coming down. We lost no time in getting onto high ground. If we had been fifteen minutes later we would have lost all we had and probably our lives. There had evidently been a cloudburst back up in the mountains. We drove a few miles further, then made a dry camp.

At night we would each take a six hour turn watching the cattle, but they were usually pretty quiet, though I have seen a herd of cattle just as tired stampede at the yelp of a coyote, or some other unusual noise, and run for miles. The next drive took us to the Rio Grande. We were only fortunate enough on one occasion to find a place where we

could pen our stock over night, but the rest of the nights we had to stand guard. All the way up the river, which we followed as far as the Indian town of Isleta, we had plenty of trouble keeping the cattle out of Mexican corn fields, as their fences never were much good to keep the cattle out. One night we camped just below Isleta, where Walter and I were both taken sick from eating too many grapes and melons. The next morning, we had a lot of trouble getting the cattle together as both of us had been too sick to care much where they went. At noon we reached the place where we had to ford the river, this was a hard job; however, all the Indians in the pueblo helped us so we finally got across. Now we left the river and struck out for Tijeras canyon, which runs between the Sandia (watermelon) and the Manzano (apple tree) Mountains. After we had gone through the then thriving mining camp of San Pedro, we struck the plains east of the mountains, making as nearly as we could a beeline for Glorieta, about fifty miles away. From now on things went fine except that when we struck the timber we lost our way, this made us lose one day.

After two days' rest in Glorieta we started for the ranch, glad indeed to have our trip over. It was a hard task for two men.

Walter's ranch was right up in the mountains, the elevation being over six thousand feet; a little stream, Bull Creek, ran through the ranch so we had plenty of water. The ranch house was up a little side canyon, where there was a fine spring. Here Walter had built two log cabins, these joined with a roof making a porch. All of our neighbors were Mexicans who were a tough lot, belonging to the Order of Penitentes, who thought if they beat themselves on Good Friday they could do any devilment they wanted to during the rest of the year. The country was rough; near the house were many scrub oak trees, but up the canyon was plenty of big timber. Game was plentiful and we nearly always had fresh meat. One morning, as I was going down the trail from the house to the spring, I heard a noise on the side of the mountain just above me; there I saw, not over a hundred feet away, a bear who was also going for water. He saw me

about the same time that I saw him but by the time I had gone to the house for a gun he was out of sight. I did not care much for the site of the house and the country was almost too rough for cattle but we managed to get along.

About this time, several Texas families moved in, about seven miles west of us. After several visits back and forth, I decided to move over and work for one of them, helping to clear land and build a house. The ranch I went to was along the side of a pretty little park of about fifty acres right along side of a grove of quaken aspen, a beautiful spot. The elevation was a little over ten thousand feet, with a fine spring of the coldest water I ever drank right in front of the house. The Texan had a large family. I think it was fourteen children (the oldest girl about seventeen years old) including two pair of twins. The man was a typical mover, never satisfied, always looking for a better location. We built a good two room log house and fenced several acres for planting barley and potatoes.

To us who have all the conveniences and amusements of the present day it is hard to understand or believe how these pioneers lived. Turner and his wife, with their bunch of children, along with another hired man and myself, all lived in the little log house; the main part was about twenty feet square with a small lean-to kitchen and a sort of attic over the main room; the men and boys slept upstairs over the main room, the old man and Mrs. Turner with the girls and small children slept below.

Mrs. Turner, who was about forty-five years old, considering the hardships she had gone through, was a fine looking woman, kind to everyone and gentle with the children. The food, such as it was, was clean and well cooked, the house was kept as clean as was possible. Turner himself looked the typical frontiersman, over six feet tall and well proportioned, with a long white beard. When he spoke everyone jumped but at the same time he was fair and a good man to work for and live with.

The family had been born and raised in eastern Texas, Turner as a boy having fought in the Civil War. All of them could read and write although I do not believe that any of

the children had ever been to school. They belonged to the Christian Church. Every night the old man read a chapter of the Bible. They were against dancing and cards and were honorable in their dealings except that the old man would try to get the best of you in a horse trade. I never saw liquor around the place, though when the old man went to town he generally liquored up like the rest of us.

There was nothing in the way of amusement. We went to bed as soon as it was dark and got up before daylight. Turner had a pack of bear dogs, so we went on several bear hunts. One day I was fortunate enough to get a grizzly, which the dogs had treed. We lived on game, potatoes, beans and coffee. The bread we had was made from sour dough and the coffee more to be recommended for its strength than flavor.

As soon as spring came Turner's feet began itching, he had heard of a better place further on and decided that he would pull out. He wanted me to go with them, but I traded a couple of horses and some cows for the place and decided to stay. In a few days we packed them in their wagons, prairie schooners, and started them off. I went with them for a day or two to help get their stock out of the mountains. That was the last I ever saw or heard of them.

During the time that I was away, Walter had bought the old Pigeon ranch at Glorieta. This place was along the Old Santa Fe Trail. On it was a big adobe house about a hundred feet long with two wings of fifty or more feet, with a high adobe wall and stables in the rear. In the middle of the buildings was a patio in which were several trees; this had a porch on the three sides after the Mexican manner. Along the front of the house was a wide porch on the road. In the early days this had been a stage station and was the scene of many battles both with the Indians (Apache) and with the outlaws. It also had a bad name as being the rendezvous of gamblers and other tough characters; many a man was killed for what he had and his body thrown out in the mountains. Right in front of the house the battle of Glorieta was fought between the Colorado troops and the Texans, which the former won. I have picked up many Minnie balls and

small solid shot as well as stone arrowheads on the field.

Walter had gotten mixed up with a Mexican girl and ran away with her, bringing her here; this meant more trouble as the girl's people were a bad lot. He sent word for me to come and help him out as they had threatened to kill him, so I spent several months there. We built another house off the road and did some fencing and plowing. We had a lot of trouble with the Mexicans at this time and always had to be on the lookout for them. One morning I heard the woman scream and found that two men were trying to take her off. I grabbed my rifle which was alongside of the door, but was afraid to shoot for fear of hitting the woman; however I did take one shot to the side which made the men drop her, and jumping on their horses they rode off. I took a couple of shots at them not particularly trying to hit them. Another time I had two shots fired at me from behind a tree. On the whole it was not particularly pleasant never to know when a shot might hit me. During all this time I had been anxious to get back to my ranch, so when Walter finally made peace with the Mexicans, I went back.

The country around my ranch is the most beautiful mountain scenery I have ever seen. Every canyon has running water, sometimes a quite large stream; the largest one, the Rio Pecos was about two miles from my house. The streams were all full of trout. Way up to the north were the Truchas Peaks, nearly fourteen thousand feet above sea level, with their tops always covered with snow. Along the canyons and streams were numerous wide places most of which were settled by a very mixed lot of people.

Over the other side of the divide from me was Cow Creek; here an Englishman had what he called a Ranch School. For a good round sum per annum, he would take young Englishmen and teach them cattle ranching. As a matter of fact, he had only three or four milch cows and a half a dozen horses, but he made the boys do all the work and he certainly worked them hard. The man was disagreeable and did not want visitors, so I never went there but once. He had a pretty place, five or six log houses, flower and vegetable gardens and everything to make him and his

wife comfortable. The students did not fare so well and were not allowed off the place.

One of them, a boy named Lee, used to sneak off and come to my ranch whenever he could. He was very anxious to go into partnership with me, telling me that he soon would be twenty-one and would come into a lot of money. He finally did leave the school and came to live with me but the money never came and I found out that all he wanted was free board, so I ran him off. He was a typical remittance man, lazy and worthless; his people were glad to make him a small remittance each month to keep him out of England. As soon as he got his money he would go to town and stay drunk as long as it lasted.

I kept busy all fall and up to Christmas, making fence, hunting and so forth. As I lived some twenty-five miles from the post office, about once a month I used to ride in after the mail. The postmaster at that time was a Catholic priest, a pretty good Frenchman; he always insisted that I spend the night, which I was glad to do as the old fellow had a housekeeper who was a fine cook, then there was always plenty of good wine and brandy to drink. It was pleasant to have a chance to talk to an educated man once in a while.

Down below the ranch on the Pecos River there was a small sawmill, so I got a job for a while hauling lumber to the railroad, twenty-two miles away. We would go down one day and back the next, but the weather got so bad that we had to quit.

While I was away my house was broken into and all my grub stolen, this happened several times. Once when I came home, tired and hungry, I found that I had been cleaned out. The custom of the country was, that if you went to a man's place and no one was home to go in and help yourself, spending the night if you wanted to; the only thing you were supposed to do was to clean up and leave as much wood cut as you had used. Several times when I was on the C-N ranch I have gotten back and found the house occupied. I had a suspicion that the man who was robbing me was a Russian who lived on the other side of the mountain.

One day I rode over there and took particular pains to

tell the man I was leaving in the morning for Santa Fe, that I had just gotten in a supply of grub and I hoped that no one would break in my house. The next morning I rode down the trail towards the river, then back tracked into a lot of burned timber that was in front of the house, there I hid. Sure enough I had not been there more than an hour when the Russian rode up, looked around, saw that my saddle was gone and that my tracks went down the hill; then he took a hammer and started to break the padlock on the door. I took a good aim with my rifle and let go. I hit the padlock and Mr. Russian took to the woods. I never saw him around again nor did I have any more trouble with thieves.

As a great treat, once in a while I would ride into Santa Fe, which was a long day's ride. I was able to get a little insight into the old Army life, for at this time the Tenth U. S. Infantry was stationed at what was called Fort Marcy, though the barracks were in the middle of the town. This was the headquarters of the regiment, which meant that the band and three or four companies were here. All of this made some social life and as I had met some of the officers and their families I enjoyed going there. The band played in the plaza every night and there were numerous parties and dances. At one time I thought very seriously of enlisting and working for a commission but my friends among the officers persuaded me against it. Many of these men were later killed in Cuba, at San Juan Hill. On one of my trips I met some cousins from Pennsylvania who were on their way to California; they were in a private car and I spent several pleasant days with them.

I was much surprised to be asked by the people who ran the sawmill if I would take charge of the school at the mill; there were some seven or eight children from six to sixteen years old. I had never tried anything of the kind but as I seemed to be about the only one in the neighborhood who had any schooling, I agreed to try it. I stuck at this for a couple of months and seemed to be fairly successful, but I could not stand being indoors. Returning to my ranch, as it was getting towards winter, I spent my time fencing, cut-

ting fire wood and breaking ground, which I did with two yoke of oxen, becoming quite an expert Bull Whacker.

One day I started down to the mill, about two miles, to see if there was any mail. While there I met a very pleasant man and wife who had just settled a few miles up the river, they having come out from Chicago a short time before. The man, Captain Bill, was formerly a board of trade man who had come out for his health. They had a comfortable home just up from the river in a big open space; right back of the house, in fact nearly all around it, were big pine and spruce trees. These people asked me to stay to supper which I was glad to do. We had a fine talk and I found they knew some people that I did in Chicago. During the afternoon the clouds had begun to gather and about the time I was starting home it began to snow. It did not take much urging for me to agree to spend the night. It snowed that night and for three days; when I did try to get home I found that it could not be done, so I stayed on, in fact I never left them for five years, and fine friends they were. Bill and I did a lot of work around the place.

One of the things we did was to make a toboggan slide down the mountain side back of the house; it was some slide. We made our toboggans out of thin strips of wood with barrel staves for the front end. It was about six weeks before I was able to get to my place as we had to cross two pretty deep canyons and there was not much of a trail. It took Bill and me six hours to go the two miles, beating a trail through the snow for the horses, in some places the snow was five feet or over. We packed what grub etc., I had and I never went back there to live.

Early in the new year some people opened up an iron mine near Glorieta, so Bill and I took a couple of teams down there and hauled ore from the mine to the railroad about six miles. While we were working there we took a commission to hunt coal and iron for this company. We started out with a buckboard and two mules and a couple of saddle horses tied on behind, our bedding and camp outfit being piled back of the seat. Before we got home, which was about three months later, we had gone over the greater part

of the Territory of New Mexico and traveled more than a thousand miles. Wherever we could hear of any coal or iron we would go there, look it over; if it was any good we would locate or option it. We found some iron properties near Santa Rita which we took an option on and which our employers worked for a good many years and so far as I know still own.

This was a great trip, we had many adventures but no serious troubles. An average day was about like this: we got up at daybreak, one of us would tend to the horses and mules; we kept one of these tied up and turned the others loose, hobbled, that is unless there was no feed around. Sometimes they would stray for some distance and in one or two instances we lost a day hunting for them, but we were fortunate not to lose an animal on the trip. The other man would build a fire and get breakfast; this as a rule consisted of coffee, bacon and eggs, if we had them, or perhaps fresh meat when we could get it, along with biscuits cooked in a Dutch oven. We usually tried to cook enough to last the day so that we would not have to waste time for lunch. As a rule we were on our way by sunup.

Generally the roads were only trails; sometimes we would strike a bee line and make our own road, often we would come to a deep wash and have to pick and shovel our way over. Only once did we have to turn back. As a rule we took a good hour at noon to rest the team. Unless we were making a town or ranch we would make camp fairly early so that we could cook and take care of the stock and get supper over before dark; thirty miles a day was our usual day's drive. We had a water keg in the buckboard as often we would have to make a dry camp. If we struck a town we usually stayed a couple of days to find out all we could about the country.

While we were on this trip, we located for ourselves some coal lands about thirty miles south of Santa Fe, known now as the Hagen Coal Fields. While these claims were open for location there was a tough old nut who claimed them and threatened to kill anyone who located on them, this made it necessary for us to keep a pretty close watch. One of us

would go down the shaft or in the tunnel, while the other stood watch with a gun. After we had finished the necessary location work, we started one day for Santa Fe to have our papers made out at the land office.

At the present time with autos and fine roads this would be an hour's drive. We started out early one morning expecting to be in Santa Fe before dark. All the way along we were talking about what a fine supper we would have, for we had been on short rations. We could see Santa Fe ahead for miles, but our team was getting slower and slower, dark found us some miles from town, we could not get the team off a slow walk. We had no grub or water, but knowing we could not make it, we pulled off to one side of the road, tied the team to the wagon and made our bed along side. Neither one said a word, we were tired and hungry and both ready to fight at a word, the only time that Bill and I ever came near a quarrel. We were off before day the next morning and on our way, arriving in town about seven o'clock, tired, dirty and hungry. As soon as we had put the team up we first got a good drink and then what a breakfast we did eat.

After a struggle for money, we at last got the mine opened up and started to ship coal; it was good coal and had a ready sale in Albuquerque. Will did the selling and outside work and I looked after the mine. We had a thirteen mile haul to the railroad station which added much to our costs. Walter and his wife soon joined us and he put his teams to work. Everything went along fine for a couple of months, but there was a large fly in the ointment. The Santa Fe Railroad had their own mines in Trinidad and we were cutting into their market. We could never get cars when we wanted them, then to make matters worse, the siding where we loaded was over a mile long. When they did put a car in, it was set at the farthest end of the siding, which meant a mile more of a pull for the teams through heavy sand. We could not make deliveries to our customers when we promised and soon our sales dropped. We were always short of money as we had no working capital.

We were working about a dozen men at the mine. I was

storekeeper, hoist man, blacksmith and about everything else. There were several Irishmen in the crew, a hard lot, especially one known as Big Jim who was over six feet tall and weighed around two hundred pounds, a trouble maker and always kicking. We were much behind in our pay, so one day the bunch struck. I was in the commissary and saw them coming. I was all alone; as Walter, the only man I could depend on, was hauling coal to the railroad, things looked pretty black for me. The men, six or eight of them, came into the store and demanded their pay at once. I had no money, so tried to put them off. They made a lot of threats. Finally Big Jim started for me. I was behind the counter. I knew it was a case of my life or theirs, so when the man started for me I reached behind the counter for a pick handle I kept there for emergencies, and hit him over the head with it; he dropped, dead to the world, then I pulled my gun and said that I would kill the first man who came towards me. They evidently thought I meant it for they left.

A short time after one of them came and asked me if I would haul them and their stuff to the railroad and send them their money when I could. This I did with much pleasure. Big Jim slowly came to, "Who hit me?" he asked. I did and if you try to start anything more I will do it again. He said, "You sure have a punch and I will bother you no more." I bandaged him up and gave him a drink, he went to his cabin and slept all day. Just before dark he came to me and said he was sorry and that I was his friend. I had to shut the mine down, but Big Jim stayed until I had to drive him away as I was getting short of food; after he left I was alone.

We had a fair stock in the store so I started trading with the Indians, there being two pueblos along the river near us. I made a deal with a storekeeper in Wallace to furnish me with such articles as I might need. I traded for wheat and hides mostly, the Indians taking sugar, coffee, lard and bright calicos for their part. In the course of the summer I collected a carload of wheat and many hides. Almost my only visitors were the Indians, most of whom came from San Felipe pueblo. I found them all honest with the excep-

tion of two or three of the younger ones who had been educated at the Indian schools.

I often visited the Chief and he wanted to adopt me into the tribe, but I did not care much for that. While I was here Cap's father and mother, who had settled some sixty miles to the south of us, wrote that there was to be a grand dance at their place and wanted us to come. Will, who was then in Albuquerque, was to drive over and I was to ride down. I started before day so as to get there as I knew of no place where I could stop for the night, and I believed I could make it in one day, having a good strong horse. I rode a steady gait, some of the way over a rough country with no road or trail. It was after dark when I got to the place, but I was so worn out that I had to be lifted off the horse; nevertheless I danced all night and took a girl out for a ride the next morning.

Finally we had to give the mine up and I went to work for the A. & P. R. R. at Albuquerque, spending my time at work and play about as other young men did in those days.

I look back to these days with the greatest pleasure and am proud of the fact that, in a small way at least, I helped to build up the country. I never expect to get again a thrill or the same enjoyment like those of the old days. The Cowman, the Miner and the Hunter were all my tutors and much of the real things of life I learned from them. I am glad that I was there soon enough to have seen the Great Southwest when men were men and the incentive to do and see were not softened, when travel was not easy and when life was hard. I enjoy the modern comforts, but not for much would I miss the satisfaction that I feel when I think of the days gone by, with their primitive pleasures, their hardships and above all their joy of living.

THE ROUGH RIDERS

By ROYAL A. PRENTICE

(Concluded)

The Cuban Campaign

On the morning of June 22nd, 1898, we awoke to find ourselves close in shore, possibly a mile or a mile and a half away. Extending out from the shore was a large iron pier from which iron ore had formerly been loaded. Soon we gathered our equipment consisting of a blanket rolled in a half shelter tent, topped with a rubber poncho, with rations rolled in the blanket, but I don't recall any item of food that we carried. We had our leather sword belts to which were attached mess kits, quart cup and canteen in addition to our sabers; over all we buckled our cartridge belts filled with cartridges to which our .45 caliber six shooters were holstered. Our carbines were carried in our hands. With this load we crawled down the companion way and into small boats which were rowed ashore, although some were towed by small launches.

Before leaving the transport the Cruiser *New York* ran in close to the shore and thoroughly shelled it, especially the top of a high hill commanding the beach. On top of this hill there was supposed to be a block house, but after the shelling there was no block house to be seen, in fact the entire top of the hill appeared to have been blown away, and we could see the figures of men scurrying away from that vicinity into the underbrush. There was no attempt made to prevent our landing.

Upon reaching a wharf at the beach it was necessary to jump from the boat onto the wharf while the boat was rising and falling with the breakers a distance of six or eight feet. We would wait until the boat reached the top of a wave, then make a jump for the wharf where we all safely landed; why none of us missed the jump is a miracle, in fact one boatload of negro soldiers capsized and one trooper was

drowned. We marched up the beach and after our long confinement on shipboard the camp at Baiquiri seemed very attractive and we immediately began making a permanent camp where a pleasant vacation could be spent, but we overlooked one detail for we forgot to ask the Colonel what he thought about the idea, and early the next afternoon we were ordered to break camp preparatory to move up the coast.

After landing, while looking around, Hugh and I captured a scraggly old hen and located some sweet bell peppers, so we had chicken soup for supper, the chicken meat itself was too tough to chew. That night I was awakened by a heavy body moving over me; I held my breath and Hugh, sensing something wrong, asked me what was the trouble? At that time the weight lifted and I told him a snake at least thirty feet long had just crawled over me. He started to laugh it off, but just then the thing started over him and with a yell that aroused the camp we both went into the air. Lighted matches convinced us that a prowling land crab has caused the disturbance.

Leaving camp the next day, picks and shovels for trenching tools were issued and distributed, one each to every four men. In our blanket rolls we packed our extra clothing, razors, and items of that kind; and an item that I overlooked mentioning previously was a haversack in which we stored such canned goods as we could get hold of, together with a supply of hardtack, and in addition I carried a 4 x 5 Eastman box camera. Most of us knew the value of a tin can to be used in cooking and soon every trooper had a can with a wire bail fastened somewhere on his load. All in all we must have made a ludicrous appearance.

Finally we started on what later turned out to be a forced march for twenty-five miles over mountain trails to Siboney. We were supposed to rest ten minutes in every hour, but towards the end of the march it seemed the hours grew longer and the rest periods were non-existent. Of course, we were in no physical condition for such a march and it was not long before the men began to discard pieces of equipment of which the first were the picks and shovels;

but lightening the load helped but little in relieving the excruciating pain in our legs as we stumbled forward. We arrived at Siboney about dark.

My bunky Hugh Wright was put on duty as Sergeant of the Guard and knowing that he was as worn out as myself I decided to prepare a hot meal for both. We had been issued unroasted green coffee in the berry and we had to roast the coffee in our mess plates and then grind it in our cups with the butts of our carbines; the resulting brew was nothing to brag about. I had located some cornmeal and a small piece of salt pork and out of these attempted to bake a hoecake, but just as the cakes were placed on the fire a regular cloudburst of rain struck us, putting out the fire and changing the hoecakes into uncooked mush. Needless to say, the dinner was a failure.

After the landing and until the fighting was over at San Juan Hill we did not put up our shelter tents, but simply laid down our ponchos and then rolled up in our blankets in the water and mud and slept the sleep of the just. We had been issued hammocks some place along the line, but we did not use them in Cuba, nor do I remember packing one, nevertheless upon discharge I found a canvas hammock in my equipment.

Refreshed by a night's sleep we were all up before daylight the next morning and eager for the day's adventure. The grapevine reported that the Spaniards were close by and that we would see some fighting. In reconnoitering near the camp some of the men had located a hogshead of rum and upon reporting the find we moved over in a body and filled our canteens, only to find out later that we had made a terrible mistake for the extreme heat created a terrific thirst which the fiery rum would not alleviate, and the first call of every wounded man was for water, of which we had not a drop; the result was that from that time on to the surrender of the City of Santiago the men drank no liquor.

About the middle of the forenoon we were ordered to move out of Siboney and after a short march we were deployed along the edge of a little valley where we were told to discard our equipment except firearms. On the opposite

side of the valley we could see men moving about at a distance of approximately two or three hundred yards. We had never seen a Spaniard, nor did we know the type of uniform they wore, but soon from across the valley there came a series of volley firing, the most perfectly executed that I ever heard. Luckily most of it was high and over our heads; however, a few men were hit and it was pitiful to hear their cries for water when we had only rum to give them.

Word was passed along the line for us to hold our fire as there was a force of Cubans between us and the Spaniards and the Cubans were to engage the Spaniards first, but if there were any Cubans in front of us they evidently did not understand the part they were to play in the action as we neither saw them nor did they engage the Spaniards. After a while the firing died down, the Spaniards withdrew and we dropped back to pick up our luggage only to find that the Cubans had been there first and made off with almost all of our equipment; later that day I retrieved a blanket, poncho and haversack in which I found a good razor which I still have. After that Cubans were no longer permitted to come into our camp.

One of our boys was a mimic and spoke Spanish like a native; he could put on an argument between two supposed Cubans that was a delight to hear. On occasion he would go over to some of our neighbor regiments and after dark put on his show with the same result that is obtained by poking a stick into a wasp's nest, those troopers would come boiling out hunting Cubans all over the place.

Later in the day of our first skirmish one of our scouts caught a Spaniard and brought back his coat for us to see, it was of light cotton cloth with narrow blue and white stripes, and this brings to mind our own uniforms which consisted of reddish-brown jacket, shirt, trousers and leggings; also heavy cotton-fleeced underclothes, and these were worn alternately as opportunity presented itself to launder one or the other. We were badly in need of water and Hugh and I walked down into the valley to examine a fringe of brush that showed promise. On our way we met Richard

Harding Davis and we took along his canteen, also borrowed his pocket knife of which we were sadly in need. We found a pool of water among the trees and we took turns standing guard over each other as we slipped down the bank and filled the canteens. Mr. Davis got his canteen back.

Leaving Las Guasimas after dark we marched in single file in inky darkness over a muddy trail which ran alongside a road over which troops and equipment were moving in the blackness. At one point I slipped and fell under a horse; a voice called out, "Look out Colonel, a man has fallen under your horse!" Colonel Roosevelt answered, "Don't worry, no horse will step on a Rough Rider." We finally reached camp at the foot of a hill called "El Poso" and were told that we had been moved up to support a battery, which was very encouraging, only no one knew what it meant.

After daylight our battery, located upon the hill above us, commenced firing, using black powder which raised a cloud of smoke which made a wonderful target. We sprawled around for some time watching the battery fire and calculating the terrific damage it must be doing, when suddenly a shrill screech came over our heads and a shrapnel struck the hill behind us and over the battery, and immediately the air became filled with pieces of flying shrapnel as the Spaniards returned our fire. Of course, they had the exact range on every hill in that section and in a very few minutes they had put our guns out of action. We moved around behind the hill until the firing died down, but upon returning we could see that our guns had been entirely knocked out; the grapevine reported that out of one hundred and one men serving the battery, only three got out alive. This was a new angle to the War, different than what we had expected, as for some reason we had considered that cannon, and the men serving them, were invulnerable.

We then moved forward in a skirmish line out onto a flat covered with tall grass near the San Juan River and were directed to lie down. During all the time we were under direct fire from Kettle Hill on our right, and San Juan Hill in front of us. We kept waiting for orders but none came, and after what seemed an interminable time

word was passed down the line that we were to move forward. As I recall, some troopers of the Tenth Cavalry (Colored) were lying near us and as we moved forward they asked where we were going and on being told we were going forward, they said they were going along and they joined us. One of them came from Bowling Green, Kentucky, and knew of my Bunky Hugh Wright, a son of Doctor Wright, and he immediately attached himself to Hugh and stayed with us for several days acting as our Dog Robber.

We crossed the San Juan River and coming out in the open we found Kettle Hill on our right from where the Spaniards were enfilading us with a hot fire, so we turned and drove the Spaniards back and took the hill. There we rested for a short time and rested and reformed; in the meantime a solid sheet of bullets and shells was coming over the top of the hill, and it appeared that nothing could live to get over the top. Word came for us to move forward, but there was some hesitation. A hat raised above the brow of the hill was immediately perforated with several holes, then Colonel Roosevelt himself ordered a charge and he started up the Hill with our Colors carried by Color Sergeant Wright; it made a picture never to be forgotten. The men rallied behind the Colonel and the Colors and went over the top, but in so doing we lost Clay Green and John Robinson killed, Otto Menger and George Detamore badly wounded, and a number of others who sustained lesser wounds.

About that time Parker's Gatling Gun Battery had been moved up to the front a short distance to our left and at the foot of the hill. They opened fire upon the trenches of San Juan Hill, to a great extent slowing down the fire from that point. Farther to our left and between Kettle and San Juan Hills lay a shallow pond and a number of Spaniards running toward San Juan Hill plunged into this pond, rather than go around it; they made a splendid target and I don't believe that any of the men that went into the pond ever lived to get across it.

From El Poso there was a road leading down to a ridge of San Juan Hill. After crossing the San Juan River and

traversing the flat below Kettle Hill, I glanced towards that road and saw a balloon rise over the tree tops to a height of fifty or a hundred feet, when it was shot down by shell fire from San Juan Hill. The grapevine later reported that the 71st New York was sent down this road, they were armed with the old Springfield rifle using black powder and at a point which they called the "Bloody Bend" an attempt was made to deploy them off the road and into the fields, at the same time they were ordered to commence firing, resulting in a great cloud of white smoke rising above their position, then in order to make sure the Spaniards would know their exact position, a signal corps sent up the observation balloon. What they expected to observe is a mystery as they were right at the foot of San Juan Hill and both sides knew all too well the position of the opposing sides.

The Capture of San Juan Hill

Crossing the valley between Kettle and San Juan Hills, we started the climb up San Juan. It was hot, arduous work. We fired as we climbed and my rifle barrel became so hot that I was afraid to throw another cartridge into it from the magazine, but luckily soon found another carbine that had been dropped by some wounded trooper. When we reached the top of the hill the Spaniards retired toward Santiago. We stopped at a blockhouse and there found a couple buckets of rice still cooking on a fire; someone suggested it had probably been poisoned and that it should not be eaten, but poison or no poison we soon finished it up. I believe it was the next day that a number of the men had managed to roast and pound a sufficient amount of coffee to properly make up a five gallon bucket of coffee; we had just completed boiling it when a Spanish bullet went through the bucket not a half inch above the bottom, we rescued what we could, but most of it was wasted. The Spaniards moved back three hundred yards where they threw up trenches. They accused the Americans of unfair practices because the rules of war required troops to fire and fall back, but the Americans fired and kept on going forward still firing. We had with the army a Captain Bull, an English Army Ob-

server, who reported that the American Army's tactics were bad because we fought in extended order and fired at will, and while firing, tried to hit what we were shooting at. He claimed the proper method was to fight in close ranks, shoulder to shoulder, firing only upon order. How soon the fallacy of such tactics was demonstrated to the English in the Boer War!

That night we slept on a slight rise back a little ways from the edge of the Hill; as we were without blankets or other covering, we suffered severely from the cold, nor were we permitted to light fires for fear the enemy would find out where we were! Early the next morning the Spaniards commenced firing shrapnel and one shell burst immediately over Colonel Roosevelt, but the slugs came on and wounded a trooper from B Troop, who was on my right, and wounded another trooper of an unknown troop on my left. I felt a sharp blow on my stomach, but examination disclosed only a red mark where a piece of shell had hit me, but for a few moments I was sure I had nothing left but a backbone. The day before we had learned that shrapnel is only dangerous to those in front of it where its slugs spread out fanwise.

Soon a battery of our field artillery came up on the hill behind us, unlimbered and prepared to fire a round and then pull out, leaving a great cloud of smoke hanging over us to draw the enemy's fire; a number of our men gathered round and forcibly called their attention to the fact that we were in no need of artillery support and they finally moved away to do their firing at some other point on the line. During the morning the grapevine reported that General Shafter (Five miles in our rear) had ordered us to fall back and abandon the Hill, saying we couldn't hold it. Captain Muller came along the line and asked us what we thought and we told him we had taken the Hill and we could hold it and we didn't intend to go back. Later we learned our officers had signed a "Round Robin" signifying their intention of remaining where we were on the Hill.

In an incredibly short time we had shallow trenches dug which were a great protection, and later these were dug to a depth so that they afforded complete protection.

Advance trenches were also dug over the brow of the hill; these advance trenches were but a few yards from the Spanish advance trenches, and as most of our men spoke Spanish it was but a few days until we had established contact with the Spanish pickets resulting in a very profitable exchange of our canned beef for cigars. During these exchanges a truce was observed by both sides and no firing took place until the signal was given, when for a few minutes everyone blazed away knowing that no one would be hurt.

We were bothered during the day by shells from field guns, and at times by shells that came from Cervera's Fleet, but the latter did no damage as they passed over the Hill and fell back of us in the valley; the field guns, however, kept us in the trenches when we were on top of the hill. The shelling took place only in the day time, so that at night when making our exchanges with the Spaniards we were not bothered. In order that we might safely move around on top, gunny or burlap sacks were brought up and we built substantial breastworks of sand-filled sacks, while under the brow of the hill at our rear we built bombproof shelters out of coconut logs covered with dirt, all of which involved some very heavy work.

In the meantime the mule trains were bringing up boxes of rifle ammunition so that every man had a big wooden case of cartridges in front of him in the trenches, but no food was coming up and we were mighty hungry, having to subsist on mangoes most of the time; but finally a train arrived loaded with great slabs of salt pork interspersed with sacks of sugar so we had stews made of salt pork cooked with mangoes and flavored with sugar. We had one break, however. One afternoon the First Illinois came by; they were loaded down with canned goods and other supplies and they were so tired they could hardly move. They asked us if we knew where they were to camp and we gladly pointed out to them a little hill over by the town of Caney, four or five miles distant; that settled it and they began unloading supplies which we were quick to gather in, but we nearly had to fight them later as they moved on only a short distance a few hundred yards to the end of our lines.

Two light automatic machine guns had been given to our Regiment, but they seemed to jam after a few shots and were not very serviceable. We also had a dynamite gun which most of the time managed to throw a five pound dynamite shell a short distance in front of the gun where it would explode; we gave that gun a wide berth. However, one time it did very effective work. There was a large brick building about five hundreds yards in front of us with a clump of trees at one end of the building, and over all an immense Red Cross flag was flown. For a day or two we were careful to direct our fire so that it would not reach the building, but a concealed battery kept throwing shrapnel at us, and tracing the shells as best we could, they seemed to come from the clump of trees under the Red Cross flag. The Spaniards used smokeless powder and it was very difficult to locate their batteries. On the day in question the crew of the dynamite gun got it out and fired one shell; it landed in the clump of trees with a terrific explosion and we could see men, trees and debris sailing up in the air after the shot together with parts of field guns, and after that we were no longer bothered by shells from that quarter.

A field hospital had been set up some distance in our rear and we tried to get our wounded men back to the hospital as quickly and as comfortably as possible, but some of the stretcher-bearers came back with word that the wounded men were left outside the hospital tent, most of them without blankets, lying in the mud and rain; that the only attention being given them was the administration of large doses of quinine; further that nearly every palm tree between the front and the hospital held a Spanish sniper and they were shooting down our stretcher-bearers and our wounded as they went to the rear, and as well were firing on the hospital corps and the wounded who were lying on the outside. I went back with a detail to clear out the snipers and we began by riddling every tree as we came to them; hunting was good and it really gave us pleasure to see the snipers come tumbling out of the tops of the palms. It was not long until white rags began waving from palm tops all along the line in front of us, the rags helped us considerably in making

sure of our quarry. The snipers used a .50 caliber brass covered dum-dum bullet which carried the kiss of death no matter how slight the wound. After our trip we had practically no trouble from snipers in our rear, although we usually unloaded our carbines by firing them into the palm tops which probably had a salutary influence upon would be snipers.

Our men were pretty badly worked up over the reported conditions at the hospital and there were many suggestions indicating that a few lynchings might help conditions, in fact a rope had been hidden in one corner of a bombproof for use that night. It appeared, however, that the condition had been reported to our officers and the grapevine reported that a remedy would be applied immediately, and it was done; nevertheless, the wounded men, if they were at all able to handle themselves, preferred to remain on the line.

After we finished constructing our trenches, sandbag breastworks, bomb shelters, etc., life at the front became rather a matter of routine; regular details were maintained in the advance and main trenches, and on occasion rifle fire would break out and run along the line, to which the Spaniards promptly responded, but no particular damage was done to either side. For a few days the Spanish Fleet threw shells over the hill from their big guns; we could see the specks representing the shells as they came toward us, and the noise they made overhead was terrific, but the terrain was such that the guns could only overshoot us. At one time we were subjected to mortar fire, which the grapevine said came from Morro Castle, in which they dropped old bolts and small pieces of scrap iron. I saw an old monkey wrench picked up from in front of the bombproof that had evidently been fired by a mortar, but after a few days we had become so used to protecting ourselves, or rather not exposing ourselves, that we went about paying but little attention to the whistling of bullets and the screaming of shells as they passed overhead. The Spaniards used a .25MM Mauser cartridge, really a better gun than our 30-40 Krag-Jorgensen. Our main problem was in getting something to eat, and while searching the countryside we came across

some Cuban ponies, starved and weak-looking little animals, but in fact they had almost the stamina of a burro. Of course, we appropriated a pony for each finder and we kept them picketed, using barb wire for a picket rope, in suitable locations in the brush, and these ponies saved us from having to walk many a weary mile.

A few days before the city of Santiago surrendered we received word that the Spanish army was driving all civilians and non-combatants out of Santiago and the refugees were moving into the town of El Caney, a little town about five miles from our lines. We had been issued cans of "Prime Roast Beef," put up by some of our patriotic meat packers, which was absolutely inedible even by our half-starved men, but those refugees were in even worse condition than ourselves and were very grateful for the hundreds of cans of beef that we handed out to them, with the hope on our part that we were not handing them their death warrant. After the surrender of the city most of these refugees straggled back through our lines carrying staggering loads of household belongings upon the top of which there was usually perched one or two little children. Having exhausted our canned beef, we gave them hardtack until headquarters ordered us away from their lines and directed that no more food be given them.

We felt a great deal of respect for our Divisional, Brigade and Regimental officers; illness caused frequent changes in the command so that at one time or another practically every higher officer had a turn in high office. These officers would ride along the lines keeping close watch upon the enemy's movements, and with their mounted orderlies they made wonderful targets. Why they were not all killed is a mystery. Before the fighting became hot the men considered it a high honor and were anxious to obtain these orderly positions, but later a few trips along the lines through enemy fire caused a change of heart, and when the orderlies for the day were being selected one could observe the men becoming extremely busy, elsewhere. I don't remember where we were, but upon one occasion General Wheeler visited the Regiment. There was no indication of

"High-hat" on his part, he seemed to be just one of the men, and ever afterwards we considered General Joe Wheeler as our pet General.

I believe it was the 3rd or 4th of July that we received word that Cervera's Fleet had attempted to escape from the harbor and that everyone of his battleships had been sunk, with a loss of no ships and only three men from our Fleet. Of course, we took this as a wild rumor, as we considered such a feat impossible. On another occasion we saw the reception given Commander Hobson upon his return to our lines and heard the story of his daring attempt at bottling up the harbor. We were more impressed with the bravery he and his men showed in this exploit when we later steamed through the entrance to the harbor and saw his sunken ship; how men could survive such a voyage is a mystery.

Finally we were told that a truce had been arranged and this was followed by notice that the city would surrender, so on July 17, 1898, we were formed in line and then sat upon the sand bags along the trenches until a great white flag was unfurled near the large building that was supposed to be a hospital where the Red Cross Flag had previously been displayed, followed by the raising of the Stars and Stripes above it. I don't recall any particular demonstration on our part; we cheered for a few minutes, were then dismissed and went about our usual mid-day business of trying to find something to eat. We considered the taking of the city of Santiago as merely an incident in a campaign which involved, as we supposed, marching the length of the Island for an attack upon the City of Havana, and our main concern was the gathering of such equipment as we would need for such a long march, as our experience had taught us that we would have to live off the country.

After the Surrender

The rainy season had arrived and the paths up and down the hill to our quarters and the trenches became so wet and slippery that at times we could not negotiate them, so after a few days we were ordered to move over to a camp

in the valley about five miles away near the town of El Caney. This camp was ideally located, on the banks of a fine stream, and after clearing the brush away we put up our pup tents in company streets, organized a troop kitchen, arranged to do our laundry down by the stream, and in general busied ourselves with whatever we could find to do, among other things we brought boards from the block house on the hill above us and used them for floors in our tents; however, our tents were so short that when we laid down our feet would be sticking outside, but it made little difference as our clothing was wringing wet for twenty-four hours a day.

When ordered to move, we gathered our ponies, loaded our equipment upon them, and marched over to the new camp with but little effort; however, after staking out our horses a number of Cubans arrived at camp and complained that the horses belonged to them and that we had stolen them. This was not true for we had merely appropriated animals that we found running loose, but headquarters put out an order directing us to turn the horses over to the owners and further providing penalties for anyone caught in possession of a pony. We dutifully turned them over to their supposed owners, but within a day or two we were enabled to ride again on our foraging expeditions, although we had to stake the ponies a considerable distance from the camp. They came in very handy later when we were given permission to visit the City of Santiago.

At El Caney we had a downpour of rain nearly every day and the land was so flat that it was almost impossible to drain it, with the result that the camp became a lake and the brush that we had cleared away for our tents grew up in a week to the extent that the tents were completely hidden. We were ordered to boil the water from the stream before drinking it, but were rather lax about obeying until we went to the town of El Caney above us and there saw the women of the town washing their clothes in the stream. Our tents, equipment, clothing and ourselves were wet day and night and the troopers began coming down with malaria or Dengue fever. All of us took a tablespoon of quinine once

or twice a day, we having become so used to quinine that normal doses had no effect. Our uniforms were worn threadbare and were badly torn and ragged, and even though we alternated between uniforms and underwear it helped but little as everything was in wretched condition. The grapevine kept our spirits up with the news that we would ship to Porto Rico, and after that was taken we would go on and join in the attack on Havana to which we looked forward as one that would really test our metal.

After the surrender the troops were divided into platoons and passes issued with permission to visit the city. I don't remember whether we had been issued new uniforms at that time, but I hope so for the good repute of the American army. Upon the occasion of the visit of my platoon we visited the Cathedral, what had been the public market, but principally turned our attention to the cantinas; but the recollection of our baptism with fiery rum was still so poignant that but little alcohol was consumed, other than warm beer. I do recall, however, encountering a bottle of absynthe, a new drink on me then and we bought several bottles expecting to take them to camp, but we had not counted upon the guards stationed along the road. The usual challenge: "Who goes there?" answered by "A friend with a bottle," "Advance, friend, and present the bottle!" Before we got to camp, goodbye bottles.

On the docks we saw piles of quarters of beef lying out in the sun, yet apparently not spoiling and the packers claimed it was not embalmed. What some people will do for money! During the evening we stopped at the Venus Cafe for dinner which was fair, but we particularly enjoyed a large, juicy steak—later we found that it was horsemeat. The price of the dinner was twenty dollars a plate, but that mattered little for from some unknown source we had been supplied with pocketsfull of "College Money," or "Stage Money." Where it came from I never knew; however, it was legal tender in Santiago for a short time until Headquarters heard of it when strict orders were issued preventing its use, but it made little difference as we could find nothing worth buying as the Spaniards had already cleaned out the shops.

Finally we were ordered to pack our equipment and move into Santiago there to take a transport for some unknown destination. While in camp at El Caney we were issued limitless cans of fine tobacco. I remember the brand name "Golden Scepter" and was told that we all must smoke as it was considered a disinfectant. We built a pipe out of the trunk of a large bamboo from which we ran smaller bamboo pipes to various tents and we took turns keeping the pipe lighted while the rest enjoyed a smoke in the comfort of their tents. Those who smoked cigarettes had great difficulty in obtaining cigarette papers, and the owner of a roll of toilet tissue was considered a man of great wealth. The song *A Hot Time in the Old Town* had been adopted as our Regimental Song and no gathering was complete until that song was sung.

Arriving in Santiago we went aboard the transport *Miami*; it was apparently a large tramp steamer upon which a shedlike superstructure had been built, but there was much more room upon it than there had been upon the *Yucatan*. Most of the troopers were ill with malaria or Dengue fever, but there was little or no complaint as all tried to appear in good health in order not to miss the coming campaign, but they were an emaciated, yellow-complexioned body of men who at times shivered and shook with cold tremors, alternating with hours of burning fever.

Leaving our equipment upon the transport we went up into the city and there picked up several healthy fights with some U. S. Sailors which made everyone feel pretty good. Several of the men bought bottles of liquor with the idea of mixing quinine in it to ward off the chills and fever, but evidently the liquor was more potent than the quinine, causing a feeling that all the world was a brotherhood; this particularly applied to the ship's boiler and engine crew and when it came time to leave next morning the ship's captain found he had no steam, no engines, and no one to operate the ship. Colonel Roosevelt asked us to turn over all the liquor we had; this was done and it was not long before we were under way, although the ship certainly traveled a wobbly course.

The Bay of Santiago is simply beautiful, entirely land-locked and apparently a wonderful harbor. As we sailed down the Bay towards the entrance we passed the Spanish ship *Reina Mercedes* which the Spaniards had beached in an attempt to bottle up the harbor, and a little farther on we passed the masts and funnel of Hobson's *Merrimac* where they were sticking above the surface of the water; then we came to the entrance, on one side Morro Castle and on the other a fortification that I believe was called Cerro Gordo, but in any event the entrance to the harbor was so narrow that one could easily have tossed a stone from the ship to the shore on either side. How Hobson managed to get through without being blown out of the water is beyond understanding. As we steamed away from the harbor entrance we could see the wreck of one of Cervera's ships as it lay beached where it had burned, upon its decks we could see white spots which we took to be Spanish sailors who had been killed.

As we sailed north day after day it became apparent that we were going home, evidently there to recuperate for the Havana Campaign. During the voyage one of the men died and was buried at sea; the ceremony was more impressive to our New Mexico men than had been the services attending the burial of the men killed at Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill, as we were quite familiar with the sight of men killed by gunshot and their subsequent burial in coffinless graves.

Upon nearing Montauk Point, Long Island, we were met by a fleet of small boats and informed that peace negotiations had started and that apparently the war was over. There was no rejoicing over this news as we had become accustomed to the rough life of the campaign and had come to love it together with the spice of adventure and the fellowship of our comrades. The grapevine reported that our sickness was a form of yellow fever and not malaria; that a medical officer would inspect us and if he found any sick they would be sent back to Cuba. The further information was given that limes were used as a remedy for the disease

and as there was a good supply of limes on board everyone was soon busy sucking lime juice.

Upon arrival at our anchorage a medical officer came on board, we were all lined against the rail, every man surreptitiously sucking a lime, while he made his inspection. I stood next to a water barrel and managed to wet my neckerchief and put it on my head under my hat; the officer came by, stopped, told me to open my mouth and remarked that I had taken good care of my teeth and passed on. What a relief! Luckily at the time I was enjoying the fever stage instead of the cold, shivering, teeth-chattering stage.

The Final Gathering

Upon coming to anchor off Montauk Point, Long Island, we could see near us the old time luxury liners *St. Paul* and *St. Louis* which I believe had been converted into auxiliary cruisers, while upon the beach a sort of landing stage had been rigged up. In the distance we could see the Life Saving Station, but what did not appear so attractive between the landing stage and the foot of the cliff were several hundred yards of cobble strewn beach over which it was a real hardship for us to walk in our weakened condition while loaded down with our equipment. Upon arriving at the foot of the bluff we found a gang of men building a road leading to the plains above; they wore an insignia on their collars which was new to us, it was a castle. Upon inquiring to what outfit they belonged, they said they were "Engineers," and further volunteered the information that their duties consisted in laying out the company streets for us to dig up and in supervising us while we erected the tents, dug the holes for latrines, smoothed out irregularities in the parade grounds and a few other incidentals of like character. Needless to say that when we arrived at camp we found that the engineers had already done such work for us, but the antagonism aroused by what to them was a joke, but to us was supposedly a bitter truth, has remained with me to this day at the sight of the Engineer's Castles.

At Camp Wikoff we found our horses and the men who had been left at Tampa to take care of them and after several

days there was some attempt at holding mounted drills, but the men were so ill that there was but little spirit shown. In the mornings we rode our horses down to the beach and into the surf which was very refreshing, the horses especially seemed to enjoy it after the first day. A day or so after our arrival I was away from camp over at the horse lines when sick call sounded, and upon my return found not a soul in camp, but in calling at the hospital I found every last man upon a cot, enjoying clean sheets with good food and all the soda water they could drink. Someone had to stay in camp and that lonesome duty fell to me, in the meantime great army wagons arrived each morning loaded with bread which they deposited in our commissary, and the Borden Company left dozens of cans holding five gallons of good rich milk, and other supplies were delivered in proportionate amounts. It seemed such a pity to waste all this food when we had been so badly in need of only a small part of it such a short time before.

It seemed that the troopers had taken up permanent quarters at the hospital, but an invitation was received from the citizens of New York City to pay them a visit and word was sent to the hospital that the men there could not go as they were too ill to stand the trip. The effect was magical, immediately every trooper was back on duty and ready to go, and go we did, and not even "Queen for a Day" ever received entertainment the like of that extended to us by the City. The next morning my buddy and I awoke in a suite of rooms in one of the leading hotels and upon ringing we were told to stay in bed until our breakfast could be served, after which we were shown about the City and then put on board our train to return to camp.

Later furloughs were given to those who wished them and I used mine to visit relatives at my birthplace in Milford, near Cooperstown, New York, and when leaving for camp they showered me with special cheeses, cakes, pies, candies and other good things to eat sufficient to treat the entire Regiment.

Upon returning to camp I found that rumors were going around that Colonel Roosevelt wished to take the Regiment

to New York City for a parade and that if we made a good showing at the next mounted drill, we would get to go. As Colonel Roosevelt states in his book, most of us had never seen a larger city than Santa Fe, nor a larger body of water than the Pecos River at flood, but having spent a few days in the city and recalling the traffic congestion, the surface cars, the elevated railroads with their piers in the middle of the streets, and knowing something of the temper of our mounts, the prospect was not alluring. I don't believe there was any discussion of the subject, but the next drill period should go down in history; the horses simply would not form a line, nor could they be brought into columns of fours such as would be necessary for a parade, in fact horses were scattered all over the landscape bucking and pitching as though they had never been ridden before. That settled it; the parade idea was abandoned.

Life in camp became quite monotonous, the weather was perfect although the ocean breeze was quite cool and we were kept busy moving our cots out into the sun, where soon it became too hot, then back into the tent where it was too cold. Many of the men amused themselves by teaching their horses to do tricks, at which some of the horses became very proficient. Some of the regular cavalry regiments had outlaw horses which they could not ride and our broncho busters took them in hand and rode and broke them, and this furnished considerable excitement and in addition increased the bank balance of our riders and others in the Regiment who were willing to wager that our men could ride any of their horses, and this was a sure thing for they were never able to find a horse that our men couldn't ride.

After about a month at Montauk Point we were directed to begin making up our musterout rolls, gather and check saddles, bridles, carbines, six shooters, and all such equipment preparatory to turning it in.

The Regiment had three mascots with them at Camp Wikoff, one a mountain lion named *Josephine* which belonged to the Arizona squadron; another, a bald eagle named *Teddy* which belonged to the New Mexico squadron, and the third a little mongrel pup called *Cuba* which belonged

to everyone; only the dog was permitted to accompany us to Cuba. *Teddy* had a perch on our company street and each day it would go for a long flight, but always returned to its perch. *Josephine* was kept in a cage, but objected to confinement and at every opportunity she broke out, and if it happened to be at night the entire camp was torn up in our efforts to recapture her. One moonlight night I was awakened by an unearthly yell coming from my Bunky who was sleeping on a cot on the opposite side of the tent, and at the same time the tent came down upon us accompanied by the wildest sort of pandemonium, mixed with yells, snarls, and scratches; *Josephine* had gotten loose and entered our tent where we had some cake stored and for some reason she placed her paws upon Sergeant Wright's cot and looked down in his face, at which time he awakened with disastrous results to all of us.

We piled our equipment in the street and listened to a sermon by Chaplain Mills, and later to a farewell address by Colonel Roosevelt; in the meantime a collection had been taken up from the men, all of whom were eager to contribute, and some of the officers persuaded Frederick Remington to model a statuette "The Bronco-Buster," and this was appropriately presented to the Colonel at a ceremony wherein the Regimental Colors were displayed on one side of a hollow square formed by the men, with the Colonel in the center where all could see and hear. The Colonel was visibly affected at this evidence of the affection which the men had for him, and his words of appreciation served to draw all of us into a bond of love and respect for each other which has continued to grow in our hearts during all of these fifty years.

Recollections

Following discharge and dispersal to our homes we suffered, to a greater or less degree, from Jungle Fever in the form of malaria, Dengue fever, and jaundice which, in my own case, gave me its attention for many months for twenty-four hours a day: two hours of raging fever, a half hour respite, then two hours of shivering, blue-lipped, blue-fingered, shaking cold. I finally went back to the Hot Country

down on the Isthmus and there found some relief.

In June 1889 the Rough Rider's Association was formed at Las Vegas, New Mexico, at which time Colonel Roosevelt and practically all of the officers and men were in attendance. I heard recently that it was at this meeting the Veterans of Foreign Wars was organized, or at least that the V. F. W. grew out of this Reunion. Annual Reunions were held thereafter in various sections of the country, but circumstances did not permit my attendance, although reports were received of splendid meetings combined with royal entertainment. However, I was privileged to attend the Fiftieth Reunion held at Prescott, Arizona, in June, 1948. I feel sure the Colonel, if he had been present, would have been proud of his comrades. All men over seventy years of age, most of them successful business and professional men, and all of them of the highest repute in their various communities, but their numbers are decreasing only too rapidly.

(The end)

CHECKLIST OF NEW MEXICO PUBLICATIONS

By WILMA LOY SHELTON

(Continued)

1946

- May 19—I am an American day. dated 4/29.
May 20-25—Cotton week. dated 5/9.
May 22—National maritime day. dated 5/9.
June 2—Shut-in's-day. dated 5/23.
June 14—Flag day. dated 6/13.
July 15-22—National Home Food preservation week. dated 7/8.
Aug. 1—Air force day. dated 7/30.
Aug. 3—Ernie Pyle Day. dated 7/30.
Aug. 14.—Victory day. dated 8/12.
Sept.—Used fat salvage month. dated 8/30.
Sept. 22-28—United Nations week. dated 8/20.
Sept. 28—American Indian day. dated 9/11.
Sept. 29-Oct. 6—16th Annual religious education week. dated 9/11.
Oct. 1-8—Newspaper week. dated 10/2.
Oct. 6-12—National employ the physically handicapped week. dated 9/9.
Oct. 6-12—Fire prevention week. dated 9/11.
Oct. 6-13—Optimist week. dated 8/9.
Oct. 11—Memorial Day. dated 10/1.
Oct. 13-19—Business women's week. dated 10/1.
Oct. 13-19—American Bakers week. dated 10/9.
Oct. 20-26—Child accident prevention week. dated 10/14.
Oct. 21-27—National Bible week. dated 10/11.
Oct. 27—88th anniversary of birth of Theodore Roosevelt. dated 10/11.
Nov. 5—Designated as date for general election of state Senator for 6th senatorial district.
Nov. 10-17—American education week. dated 11/7.
Nov. 19—Gettysburg address anniversary. dated 11/15.
Nov.—Coal conservation. dated 11/27.
Nov. 28—Thanksgiving day. dated 11/6.
Dec. 15—Bill of rights day. dated 11/30.

1947

- Jan. 15-30—March of dimes in New Mexico. dated 1/7.
Feb. 5—Conservation pledge day. dated 1/18.
Mar.—Red Cross month. dated 2/27.
Mar. 1-9—4-H club week. dated 1/29.

- Mar. 12-17—American legion week. dated 3/14.
 April—Cancer control month. dated 3/28.
 April 1-7—Crippled children's week. dated 3/18.
 April 7-12—Army week.
 April 7-13—Kindness to animals week. dated 3/28.
 April 12—"Pursued" day in honor of N. M. film. dated 4/2.
 April 20-26—World fellowship week. dated 4/14.
 April 26-May 3—Boys and girls week. dated 4/21.
 May 4-11—National music week. dated 4/15.
 May 18—I am an American day. dated 5/6.
 May 18-25—Naval reserve week. dated 5/6.
 May 19-24—Cotton week. dated 4/25.
 May 22—National maritime week. dated 4/14.
 May 26-June 1—Dental health week. dated 5/22.
 June—Dairy month. dated 5/28.
 June 1—Shut-in day. dated 5/19.
 June 8-15—National flag week. dated 5/19.
 June 20-26—Air marking week. dated 6/18.
 July 20-26—Farm safety week. dated 6/24.
 July 21-27—N. M. Aviation week. dated 7/11.
 Aug. 1—Air force day.
 Aug. 3—Ernie Pyle day. dated 7/21.
 Sept. 14-20—United Nations week. dated 5/11.
 Sept. 16—National Guard day. dated 9/5.
 Sept. 22-26—Child safety week. dated 9/4.
 Sept. 28-Oct. 5—17th Annual religious education week. dated 9/11.
 Oct. 5-11—Employ the physically handicapped week. dated 9/6.
 Oct. 5-11—Fire prevention week. dated 9/15.
 October—Aspen month. dated 9/22.
 October—Army recruiting month. dated 9/29.
 October 1-8—Newspaper week. dated 9/30.
 October 5-11—Business women's week. dated 10/1.
 October 12-18—National letter writing week in New Mexico. dated 10/14.
 October 31—Day of mourning and of prayer. dated 10/29.
 Nov. 1—Future home makers of America week. dated 10/29.
 Nov. 9-15—American education week. dated 10/20.
 Nov. 9-16—American legion membership week.
 Dec. 2-14—"Help our own" slogan for Navajo brotherhood caravan and a Friendship train.
 Dec. 7—Disabled American veterans day.

1948

- Jan. 1—Good neighbor day. dated 12/16/47.
 Jan. 5-12—Universal military training week.
 Jan. 14-21—Jaycee week. dated 1/14.

- Jan. 15-30—March of dimes. dated 1/15.
Jan. 17-23—National thrift week. dated 1/19.
Feb. 8-15—Rededication week (Freedom train). dated 2/2.
Feb. 12-22—Good neighborliness week. dated 2/4.
Feb. 21-27—Future farmers of America week. dated 1/30.
Mar.—Red Cross month. dated 2/25.
Mar. 7-13—Livestock week. dated 2/9.
Mar. 22-28—Crippled children's week. dated 3/10.
Mar. 26—Good Friday. dated 3/19.
April—Cancer control month. dated 3/31.
April—Each municipality discusses ways and means of improving recreational facilities for young people. dated 3-18.
April 8-14—National Sunday school week.
April 15-June 30—Security Loan campaign. dated 4/12.
May 2-8—Chamber of commerce week. dated 4/29.
May 2-9—Music week. dated 4/15.
May 3-9—Kindness to animals week. dated 4/26.
May 3-9—Restaurant week.
May 16—I am a American day. dated 5/16.
May 22—National maritime day. dated 4/30.
May 30—Memorial day; also designated May 31 as a public holiday. dated 5/17.
June—Dairy month. dated 6/2.
June 8—Public proclamation calling a primary election.
June 13-19—National flag week. dated 5/28.
June 20-26—Air marking week.
July 25-31—National farm safety week. dated 7/9.
Aug. 3—Ernie Pyle day.
Aug. 30-Sept. 18—Registration according to selective service act of 1948. dated 7/28.
 Selective service act. dated 8/2.
Sept. 16—National guard day. dated 9/10.
Oct. 1-8—Newspaper week in N. M. dated 9/30.
Oct. 3-9—Employ the physically handicapped week. dated 9/16.
Oct. 3-9—Fire prevention week. dated 9/21.
Oct. 3-10—Aspen week. dated 9/14.
Oct. 10-16—Business women's week. dated 9/20.
Oct. 10-16—Library week in N. M. dated 9/22.
Oct. 18-24—National Bible week. dated 10/19.
Nov. 1-7—Future homemakers week of America. dated 10/25.
Nov. 22-Dec. 25—Christmas seal season. dated 11/18.

1949

- Jan. 1—Good neighbors day in N. M.
Feb. 19-26—Future farmers of America week. dated 2/4.
Mar. 5-13—4-H Club week in N. M. dated 2/16.
Mar.—Red Cross month. dated 2/22.

- Mar. 25—Greek Independence day. dated 2/22.
 Mar. 27—Livestock week. dated 3/3.
 Apr. 11-17—National Sunday school week in New Mexico. dated 3/30
 Apr. 15—Observance of Good Friday. dated 4/12.
 Apr. 23—U. S. Savings Bond day. dated 4/8.
 May 1-8—Music week. dated 3/23.
 May 1-7—Be kind to animals week. dated 4/22.
 May 4—Active duty of National guard for fire at Camp Luna. dated 5/4.
 May 8-14—Chamber of Commerce week in N. M. dated 5/4.
 May 9-14—National cotton week in N. M. dated 4/14.
 May 15—I am an American day. dated 4/28.
 May 23—National maritime day in New Mexico. dated 5/4.
 July 9—Oñate day in N. M. dated 7/1.
 July 24—National farm safety week in New Mexico. dated 7/13.
 Aug. 3—Ernie Pyle day in N. M. dated 7/21.
 Sept. 25-Oct. 2—State fair in N. M. dated 9/14.
 Sept. 19-Nov. 19—Get in the Guard period. dated 9/16.
 Oct. 2-9—Aspen week in N. M. dated 9/15.
 Oct. 2-8—Employ the physically handicapped week in N. M. dated 9/26.
 Oct. 1-8—Newspaper week in N. M. dated 9/27.
 Oct. 9-15—Fire prevention week in N. M. dated 9/27.
 Oct. 9-16—Business women's week in N. M. dated 10/3.
 Oct. 16-22—National letter writing week in N. M. dated 10/7.
 Oct. 24—United Nations day. dated 10/3.
 Oct. 29-Nov.5—Apple week in N. M. dated 10/13.
 Oct. 30-Nov.5—National future homemakers week. dated 10/31
 Nov. 6-12—Library week in N. M. dated 10/31.
 Nov. 19—National Kid's day in N. M. dated 11/14.
 Nov. 21-Dec. 25—Christmas seal season in N. M. dated 11/17.
 Nov. 28-Dec. 3—Farm bureau week in N. M. dated 11/22.
 Dec. 15—Bill of rights day in N. M. dated 12/2.

* Proclamations for 1949 are printed in *New Mexico Blue Book*, 1949-50, p. 211.

1950

- Feb 18-25—Future farmers week in New Mexico. dated 2/2.
 Feb. 6-12—Boy Scout week in New Mexico. dated 1/2.
 Mar.—Red Cross month. dated 2/21.
 Mar. 4-12—4-H Club week. dated 3/1.
 Mar. 9-Apr. 9—Easter seal sale month. dated 3/8.
 Mar. 25—Greek independence day. dated 3/22.
 June 6—Public proclamation calling a primary election to be held in New Mexico on the 6th day of June. 6p. dated 4/3.
 April—Cancer control month. dated 3/30.

- Apr. 16-22—Emergency forest fire. dated 3/24.
- Apr. 7—Good Friday. dated 4/5.
Children's crusade week in New Mexico. dated 1/11.
- May 7-14—Music week. dated 4/14.
Fire prevention. dated 4/17.
- May 7-13—Chamber of commerce week in New Mexico. dated 4/18.
- May 7-14—Kindness to animals week in New Mexico. dated 4/27.
- May 22—National maritime day in New Mexico. dated 5/8.
- May 21—I am an American day. dated 5/8.
- May 15-July 4—Save for your independence. dated 5/10.
- May 20—Armed forces day in New Mexico. dated 5/10.
- 1950-51—Rededication to American principles and ideals. dated 6/2. (Established rededication commission composed of College and university presidents with Brigadier Gen. Hugh Milton as chairman.)
- June 11-17—Flag week. dated 5/8.
- June 16—Engineers day in New Mexico. dated 6/5.
- June 14-21—Adjutant general directed to assume command of National guard troops in connection with forest fires on June 14 in Beaverhead area and on June 21 in Monero-Lumberton area.
- July 9—Oñate day in New Mexico. dated 6/26.
- Aug. 3—Ernie Pyle day in New Mexico. dated 7/20.
- Sept.—Crusade for freedom month. dated 9/8.
- Sept. 4-9—Child safety week. dated 8/29.
- Sept. 23—National kids day in New Mexico. dated 9/11.
- Sept. 23-Oct. 1—State fair week. dated 9/18.
- Oct. 1-7—National employ the physically handicapped week. dated 9/15.
- Oct. 1-7—Library week in New Mexico. dated 9/25.
- Oct. 8-14—Fire prevention week. dated 9/12.
- Oct. 1-9—Aspen week in New Mexico. dated 9/12.
- Oct. 15-21—Business women's week. dated 10/13.
- Oct. 24, 16-24—U. N. day and week. dated 9/18.
- Nov. 1—City of Jal boundaries. dated 11/1.
- Nov. 5-11—American education week. dated 10/25.
- Dec. 15—Bill of rights day. dated 12/11.

THE JUDICIARY

The judicial power is now vested by the constitution in the following courts: the senate when sitting as a court of impeachment, the supreme court, the district courts, the justice of the peace courts and such courts inferior to the

district courts as may be established in any county or municipality of the state. By the organic act of 1846 the Supreme court consisted of a Chief justice and two associate justices. In 1887 a third associate justice was added, in 1890, a fourth, in 1904 a fifth and in 1909 a sixth making seven justices of the Supreme bench of the territory, each presiding over a judicial district. The State constitution provided for three justices, in 1929 the legislature increased the number to five. From 1846 to 1860 there were three judicial districts; the fourth was organized in 1887, the fifth was created in 1890, the sixth in 1904, the seventh in 1909; the constitution provided for eight, in 1921 the ninth was added and in 1951 the state was divided into ten judicial districts. Each county has a probate court and a juvenile court.

Supreme court

- Digest of the New Mexico Supreme court reports, with index volumes I to IX, January term, 1852, to July term, 1899, with table of cases decided, approved, followed, distinguished or overruled; and of cases appealed to and passed upon by the U. S. Supreme court. By Geo. P. Money. Las Vegas, The Optic job rooms, 1901. 855p.
- Digest of the decisions of the Supreme court of New Mexico, vol. 1 to 14 inclusive, and all New Mexico decisions in Pacific reporter, 1 to 106, inclusive, with table of cases and with rules of the Supreme and District courts. By James Derden. Denver, W. H. Courtright, 1910. 520 p.
- Digest, New Mexico reports, vols. 1-28 inclusive; arranged and compiled by Herbert F. Raynolds. (Albuquerque, Thos. Hughes, 1925) 539p.
- New Mexico citator and supplemental digest, digesting New Mexico cases reported in New Mexico reports, volumes 15 to 20, and Pacific reporter, volumes 103 to 155 (Page 816) citations of all statutes and session laws, citations of all New Mexico decisions, parallel tables of reenacted laws in 1915 codification, by Wm. H. Courtright and publishers' editorial staff. Denver, Col. The W. H. Courtright co., 1916. 350p.

New Mexico Blue and white book; tables of cases reported in New Mexico reports, vol. 3 to date; showing volume and page of Pacific reporter, where same case is published. St. Paul, West pub. co., 1928.

Kept up to date by cumulative annual pocket parts and supplemental parts.

New Mexico court rules, covering state and federal courts; New Mexico Supreme court; U. S. Circuit court of appeals; U. S. District court; with all amendments. St. Paul, West pub. co., c1935. 111p.

New Mexico digest 1852 to date. Ed. and pub. under authority of chap. 181, Laws of 1947, approved March 21, 1947. St. Paul, Minn., West pub. co. c1948. 6v.

"Kept up to date by cumulative anual pocket parts."

"Covers all New Mexico cases reported in N. M. reports, Pacific reporter, and all other standard reports, as well as cases from the Supreme court of the U. S. and the Federal courts arising in New Mexico."

Report of cases argued and determined in the Supreme court of the territory of New Mexico, Jan. term, 1852-Jan. 15, 1912. v. p. 1897-1912. 16v.

Jan.	1852 to Jan.	1879	689p.	v.1 (C. H. Gildersleeve,				
								reporter)
Jan.	20, 1880 to Jan.	1883	533p.	v.2 ("	"	"	")
Jan.	25, 1883 to Feb. 27, 1886	734p.	v.3 ("	"	"	"	")
Jan.	5, 1887 to Feb. 16, 1888	711p.	v.4 ("	"	"	"	")
Feb.	4, 1888 to July 24, 1891	710p.	v.5 ("	"	"	"	")
July	24, 1891 to Aug. 24, 1892	731p.	v.6 ("	"	"	"	")
Jan.	3, 1893 to Aug. 24, 1895	714p.	v.7 ("	"	"	"	")
Aug.	24, 1895 to Dec. 19, 1896	727p.	v.8 ("	"	"	"	")
Feb.	1, 1897 to Aug. 30, 1899	701p.	v.9 ("	"	"	"	")
Jan.	9, 1900 to Feb. 28, 1901	803p.	v.10 ("	"	"	"	")
Feb.	28, 1901 to Feb. 26, 1903	709p.	v.11 (A. J. Abbott	"	"	"	")
Feb.	26, 1903 to Oct. 17, 1904	544p.	v.12 ("	"	"	"	")
Jan.	17, 1905 to Aug. 29, 1906	612p.	v.13 ("	"	"	"	")
Jan.	1, 1907 to Dec. 31, 1908	720p.	v.14 (Paul A.F. Walter	"	"	"	")
Jan.	1, 1909 to Dec. 31, 1910	752p.	v.15 ("	"	"	"	")
Jan.	1, 1911 to Jan. 15, 1912	783p.	v.16 ("	"	"	"	")

Report of cases determined in the Supreme Court of the State of New Mexico. Saint Paul, West pub. co., 1915-

Jan. 30, 1912 to May 16, 1913	780p.	v.17	(J. R. McFie, reporter)
May 17, 1913 to Apr. 20, 1914	777p.	v.18	(" " ")
Apr. 20, 1914 to Dec. 31, 1914	742p.	v.19	(" " ")
Jan. 9, 1915 to Sept. 9, 1915	697p.	v.20	(I. L. Grimshaw ")
Sept. 15, 1915 to June 27, 1916	794p.	v.21	(" " ")
Jne. 28, 1916 to Aug. 20, 1917	724p.	v.22	(" " ")
1917-18	748p.	v.23	(" " ")
1918	731p.	v.24	(" " ")
1919-20	757p.	v.25	(" " ")
1920-21	704p.	v.26	(" " ")
1921-22	736p.	v.27	(" " ")
1922-23	732p.	v.28	(" " ")
1923-24	704p.	v.29	(J. A. A. Sedillo ")
1924-25	654p.	v.30	(" " ")
1925-26	718p.	v.31	(" " ")
1926-27	588p.	v.32	(C. C. Catron ")
1927-29	731p.	v.33	(Francis Thompson ")
1929-30	727p.	v.34	(" " ")
1930-31	733p.	v.35	(Herbert Gerhart ")
1931-32	399p.	v.36	(" " ")
1932-33	651p.	v.37	(" " ")
1933-34	615p.	v.38	(" " ")
1934-35	619p.	v.39	(" " ")
1935-36	496p.	v.40	(" " ")
1936-37	815p.	v.41	(" " ")
1937-38	761p.	v.42	(" " ")
1938-39	592p.	v.43	(" " ")
1939-40	716p.	v.44	(" " ")
1940-41	621p.	v.45	(" " ")
1941-42	559p.	v.46	(" " ")
1942-43	541p.	v.47	(" " ")
1943-44	652p.	v.48	(" " ")
1945-46	458p.	v.49	(" " ")
1946-47	383p.	v.50	(" " ")
1947-48	560p.	v.51	(" " ")
1948	470p.	v.52	(L. C. Green ")
1949	589p.	v.53	(" " ")

- 1950 433p. v.54 (" " ")
 v. 1-35 pub. by New Mexican printing co., Santa Fe.
- Reports . . . Extra Annotated edition. Chicago, Callaghan, 1911. 2v.
- Rules of appellate procedure, New Mexico; adopted by the Supreme court, effective March 1st, 1928. Printed by order of the court (Amarillo, Texas. T. Hughes, printer, 1928) 25, viiip.
- Rules of pleading, practice and procedure in judicial proceedings in the courts other than the Supreme court of the state of New Mexico, adopted by the Supreme court by authority of chap. 84, laws of 1933 (Santa Fe, 1933) unpub.
- Rules of practice and Amendments to rules of practice for the Supreme and district courts of New Mexico, adopted by the Supreme court since the January term 1872. Santa Fe, Manderfield & Tucker, 1875.
- Rules of the district courts of the state of New Mexico; adopted March 20, 1942, effective August 1, 1942 and Rules of the New Mexico Supreme court. Bobbs-Merrill, n.d. 114p.
- Rules of the district courts of the state of New Mexico; adopted May 23, 1949, effective December 31, 1949 and Rules of the New Mexico Supreme court. St. Paul, West pub. co., c1949. 139p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of New Mexico and Rules of practice for the district courts of New Mexico in common law and equity cases, Santa Fe, Manderfield & Tucker, 1872. 88p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of the territory of New Mexico for the regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts as revised at the January term, 1880 . . . Kansas Cty Mo., Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, n.d. 99p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of the territory of New Mexico for the regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts. Regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts in force Jan. 1, 1888 . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican steam printing company, 1887. 82p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of the territory of New Mexico for the regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts. Adopted August 26, 1893 . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1893. 96p.
- Rules of the Supreme court for the regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts in force Jan. 1, 1894 . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1893. 96p.

- Rules of the Supreme court of the territory of New Mexico for the regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts. Adopted August 25, 1897, in force Sept. 1, 1897 . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1897. 57p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of the territory of New Mexico for the regulation of practice in the Supreme and district courts. Adopted Sept. 2, 1903. In force Nov. 1, 1903. Printed by order of the Supreme court . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1903. 30p.
- Rules of the Supreme court (in N.M. Digest 1907-08 v. 14 p. 701-718)
- Rules of the Supreme court of the state of New Mexico adopted March 22, 1912. In force April 15, 1912 . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1912. 19p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of the state of New Mexico adopted July 15, 1915. Effective Sept. 1, 1915. Printed by order of court . . . (Santa Fe, 1915) 19p.
- Rules of the Supreme court of the state of New Mexico, adopted July 31, 1919, effective Sept. 1, 1919. Printed by order of the court (Santa Fe, 1919) 18p.
- Supreme court handbook of adopted and cited rules, reported and cited cases and statutes, codes, organic acts and constitutional provisions cited and construed, together with parallel table of New Mexico cases reported in L.R.A. and A.L.R. Published by authority of the Legislature, under the direction of the Supreme court. Ira L. Grimshaw, reporter. (Santa Fe, 1919) 285p.

Laws, statutes, etc.

- Leyes del territorio de Nuevo Mexico. Santa Fe, a 7 de octubre 1846.
Laws of the territory of New Mexico. Santa Fe, October 7, 1846.
(Santa Fe, O. P. Hovey, 1846) 115 numb. 1. Spanish and English in parallel columns.
- Laws passed by the general assembly of the territory of New Mexico in the session of December 1847. To which is added, Order no. 10, from the headquarters of the ninth military department, imposing a duty of six per cent on merchandise imported into the territory. Santa Fe, Hovey & Davies, 1848.
- Laws passed by the General assembly of the territory of New Mexico, in the session of December, 1847. To which is added, Order no. 10, from the headquarters of the ninth military department, imposing a duty of six per cent on merchandise imported into the

territory. Santa Fe, printed by Hovey & Davies, 1848. (Albuquerque, N. M., Alloway and company, 1935) 43p.

Added t.-p.: Leyes decretadas por la asamblea general del territorio de Nuevo Mejico, en su sesion de diciembre, 1847. Ademas, la orden numero diez, del Cuartel general nueva departamento militar, que impone el seis por ciento de derechos sobre las mercaderias que se introduscan. (E&S)

Laws of territory, Santa Fe, James L. Collins & Co. 1852. 442p. (E&S)

Revised statutes of the territory of New Mexico . . . prefixed the organic law of the territory; revised by James J. Davenport, chief justice of the territory. Santa Fe, 1856. 563p.

Revised statutes of the territory . . . prefixed, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States (etc.). Revised and rearranged by J. J. Davenport. 1856. 563p.

Revised statutes and laws in force at the close of the session of 1865. St. Louis, R. P. Studley & Co., 1865. 856p. (E&S)

Code of civil procedure, St. Louis, 1865. 58p. (E&S)

The general laws of New Mexico; including all the unrepealed general laws from the promulgation of the "Kearney code" in 1846 to the end of the legislative session of 1880. Compiled under the direction of Hon. L. Bradford Prince . . . Albany, N. Y., W. C. Little & co., 1880. 603p.

Coleccion de leyes del territorio de Nuevo Mejico . . . Estamistao N. Ronquillo. Las Vegas, 1881.

General laws of New Mexico 25th session—1882. Compiled under the direction of Hon. L. Bradford Prince . . . Albany, N. Y., W. C. Little & Co., 1882. 607-728p.

Lettered on cover: General laws of New Mexico. Prince Supplement, 1882.

Compiled laws of New Mexico. In accordance with an act of the legislature, approved April 3, 1884. Including the Constitution of the United States, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Gadsden Treaty, the original act organizing the territory; the organic act as now in force; the original Kearny code; and a list of laws enacted since the compilation of 1865 . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing company 1885. 1736p. (E&S)

Also issued with imprint: Topeka, 1885. 1736p.

Local and special laws of New Mexico. In accordance with an act of the legislature, approved April 3, 1884. Edward L. Bartlett,

Charles W. Greene, Santiago Valdez, commission; Ireneo L. Chavez, secretary. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing company, 1885. 967p.

Added t.-p.: . . . Leyes especiales y locales de Nuevo Mejico.

. En conformidad un acto de legislativa. aprobado abril 3, 1884.

Code: Form of civil practice in the district courts. Albuquerque, Democrat pub. co., 1897. 56p.

Compiled laws of New Mexico . . . including the Constitution of the United States, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Gadsden Treaty, the Original act organizing the territory, the Organic acts as now in force, the original Kearny code, and a list of laws enacted since the compilation of 1884, as well as those in that work. Prepared for publication by John P. Victory, Edward L. Bartlett, Thomas N. Wilkerson, commission, Jose D. Sena, secretary, George A. Johnson, assistant secretary. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing company, 1897. 1159p.

Leyes compiladas de Nuevo Mejico. En conformidad con un acta de la legislatura, aprobado marzo 16 de 1897. Comprendiendo la Constitucion de los Estados Unidos, el Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, el Tratado de Gadsden, el acta original que organiza el territorio, los actas organicos segun estan ahora en fuerza, el Codigo de Kearny original, y una lista de las leyes decretadas desde la compilacion de 1884, como tambien las de ese ano. Preparadas para publicacion por: John P. Victory, Edward L. Bartlett, Thomas N. Wilkerson, comision. Jose D. Sena, secretario. George A. Johnson, asistente secretario. Santa Fe, N. M., Le Compania impresora del Nuevo Mejicano, 1897. 1203p.

Code of civil procedure. Santa Fe, 1897. 154p.

New Mexico statutes, annotated, containing the codification passed at the second session of the legislature of the state of New Mexico in effect June 11, 1915, with the 1915 session laws as an appendix; comp. and annotated by Stephen B. Davis, Jr., and Merritt C. Mechem . . . Pub. by authority. Denver, Colo., W. H. Courtright publishing company, 1915. 1796, 188p.

Also issued in 2v.

Estatutos de Nuevo Mexico, anotados, conteniendo la codificacion adoptada en la segunda sesion de la Legislatura del estado de Nuevo Mexico, vigentes junio 11 de 1915, con las Leyes de sesion de 1915 como apendice; comp. Y anotados por Stephen B. Davis, jr., y Merritt C. Mechem . . . traduccion por Antonio A. Sedillo.

Pub. con autoridad. Denver, Col., W. H. Courtright publishing company, 1915. 1898. 182p.

New Mexico statutes, annotated. 1929 compilation, containing all laws of a general nature, including those passed at the special session of 1929. personally compiled, annotated, edited and indexed by William H. Courtright . . . Denver, Colo., W. H. Courtright publishing co., 1929. 2068p.

1938 supplement to the New Mexico statutes, annotated. 1929 compilation, containing all laws of a general nature passed at the 1931 regular session, 1933 regular session, 1934 special session, 1935 regular session, 1936 special session, and 1937 regular session. Annoated with all the New Mexico decisions from where the annotations left off in the 1929 compilation. Compiled, annotated, edited and indexed by William H. Courtright and Henry C. Allen . . . Denver, Colo., W. H. Courtright pub. co., 1938. 960p.

New Mexico statutes, 1941, containing the general laws of New Mexico, annotated. Published by authority of Laws 1941, chapter 191. Compiled under the supervision of the 1941 Compilation commission . . . Indianapolis, the Bobbs-Merrill company (1942) 6v.

Pocket on inside of back cover of each volume for the insertion of cumulative supplements to be published biennially.

(To be continued)

Notes and Documents

A REPLY TO REVIEWER'S CRITICISM

In his interesting and well written review of my recently published book, *The New Mexican "Alabado,"*¹ Professor J. D. Robb of the University of New Mexico takes issue with me for my use of certain terms to describe the songs in my collection.²

He objects to my use of the word *hymn* to describe the songs. I use this term because it adequately describes the lyrics. In *Webster's New International Dictionary*, the word *hymn* is defined as "An ode or song of praise or adoration; esp., a religious ode or song." The compositions in my collection are religious songs of praise and adoration.

Professor Robb also takes exception to my statement that "The only musical instrument ever used [for accompaniment] is the flute." He adds, "Nevertheless, at least two other instruments are used to accompany the *alabados*: the *matracas* (or rattle) and the *palma*,³ a wooden paddle like a ping pong paddle to which are attached 12 small pieces of wood by means of leather thongs." At *velorios* (or wakes), *alabados* are usually sung without accompaniment, although in processions of the flagellant brothers the *pito* is generally used. The *matraca*, on the other hand, is used only during Holy Week (Wednesday, Holy Thursday and Good Friday), especially at the *tinieblas* and during the Good Friday processions. On such occasions, according to usage in Arroyo Hondo a number of years ago,⁴ to cite a specific example, the *matraca* replaced the bells,⁵ and time for services was announced by means of a *matraca* instead of a bell. A man walked from the *morada*, on one end of town, to the *oratorio* (a private chapel), at the other end, sounding the *matraca* as he went along.

1. Juan B. Rael, *The New Mexican "Alabado."* With Transcription of Music by Eleanor Hague. Stanford University Press, 1951.

2. See NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. XXVI, 3 (July, 1951), pp. 250-255.

3. As far as I have been able to find out, the *palma* is not used in the area covered by my research. Unfortunately, Professor Robb, in disagreeing with me, does not state on what occasions and in what towns the *matraca* and the *palma* are used as accompaniment to the *alabado*, and neither does he say where or how he secured his information.

4. The Penitente ceremonials at Arroyo Hondo are a thing of the past. The society here has almost entirely disintegrated. Many of the old members have abandoned Catholicism for some newer religious sect.

5. The use of clappers in place of bells is a general Catholic practice. "It [the bell] is not rung from the end of the 'Gloria in excelsis' on Maundy Thursday to the beginning of the 'Gloria in excelsis' on Holy Saturday. During this interval the *Memoriale Rituum* (Tit. iv, 4, n. 7) prescribes that the clapper (*crotalus*) be used to give the signal for the *Angelus*, but it is nowhere prescribed in the liturgical functions. The custom of using the clapper on these occasions appears quite proper." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Knights of Columbus Edition, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913, Vol. I, p. 349.)

However, during the Holy Week processions and at the *tinieblas*, the sounding of the *matraca* coincided with the last two lines of the chorus stanza of a hymn of the Passion or the *Miserere* (and this may be what Professor Robb or his informer had in mind), but one can hardly call that a musical accompaniment, for the purpose of the *matraca* on such occasions was to commemorate the disturbances of nature accompanying the death of Christ rather than to accompany the singing.⁶ The *matraca* is so constructed that it is hardly possible to keep time with it, much less carry a tune.⁷

Regarding the use of the term *alabado* to describe the songs in my collection, Professor Robb states, "The local New Mexican terminology which characterizes all religious folksongs as *alabados* is unsatisfactory, as it ignores the great differences which exist between different types of religious folk music. In Mexico, according to Professor Vicente T. Mendoza, the term *alabado* is used only to describe those songs which have to do with the life and passion of Jesus Christ. All other religious folksongs are known as *alabanzas* and these are in turn subdivided into many different types." Professor Robb objects to the New Mexican use of the term *alabado* and recommends Professor Mendoza's definition and classification, unaware that Professor Mendoza, a Mexican, is also speaking of a local Mexican practice, and not a standard Spanish usage. In standard Spanish, the *alabado* is "a hymn in praise of the Blessed Sacrament," which, indeed, is applicable to some of the hymns in my collection. When I discussed the term *alabado* in my book, I was fully aware of the standard meaning of the word, but I felt it more appropriate to refer to the hymns as *alabados*, according to local practice, which, for New Mexico, is the correct usage. And contrary to what Professor Robb seems to imply in one place in his review, the hymns were not lumped together without regard to differences. The *alabados* were carefully

6. The use of the clapper at the *tinieblas* also goes back to an old Catholic custom. "The noise made at the end of the Tenebrae undoubtedly had its origin in the signal given by the master of ceremonies for the return of the ministers to the sacristy. A number of the earlier Ceremoniales and Ordines are explicit on the point. But at a later date others lent their aid in making this knocking. For example Patricious Piccolomini says: 'The prayer being ended the master of ceremonies begins to beat with his hand upon the altar step or upon some bench, and all to some extent make a noise and clatter.' This was afterwards symbolically interpreted to represent the convulsion of nature which followed the death of Jesus Christ." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Knights of Columbus Edition, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913, Vol. XIX, p. 506.)

7. The uses of the *matraca* described in this article were witnessed by me on many occasions during my childhood and boyhood days, our home being located less than a hundred yards from a *morada* in Arroyo Hondo. Since reading Professor Robb's review, I have written to members of the Society of Flagellants to double check on my recollections and some five letters have been received from the San Luis and Taos valleys confirming those recollections. Among those who sent information may be mentioned Mr. Alfredo Romero of Arroyo Hondo, New Mexico, Mr. Ricardo Archuleta of Cerro, New Mexico, and Mr. Meliton Medina of San Pablo, Colorado.

classified according to content and carefully discussed according to form.

May I point out, also, that the form generally used in New Mexico is *tinieblas*, as in standard Spanish, and not *tenievolas*, the form Professor Robb uses.

Lest readers of this article should conclude that my reviewer's criticism was unfriendly and destructive, I wish to dispell that idea completely. Professor Robb went out of his way to mention all the good points he could find in my book.

JUAN B. RAEL

Stanford University

*Provincial Statutes of 1824 to 1826*¹

Schedule of regulations to which the Alcaldes² of this Territory must conform for the collection of funds, drawn up by the Most Excellent Provincial Deputation³ of the same, conforming to that agreed upon in the session of the 19th day of October of 1826.

The overseer or shepherd, without making it known in advance, for each head of cattle which he sells he will be assessed a fine of three pesos.

The same individual, or kind of servant, selling sheep, will give one peso fine for each head.

Any owner of cattle which do damage will be assessed two reals fine for each head, without prejudicing his [giving] satisfaction for the damage committed.

He who may be proved that by not closing well the irrigation or cross ditches, which may overflow, causing some work or making the road impassible, will pay for the resulting damage, which will be appraised by two impartial men, and he will suffer one peso fine.

Any individual who shuts off the water for one to whom it was given by the distributor will suffer twelve reals fine, one peso for the fund, four reals for the owner of the water.

1. Translated by Dr. Lynn I. Perrigo, Head of the Department of History and Social Sciences at New Mexico Highlands University, in consultation with Dr. Luis E. Aviles, Head of the Department of Modern Foreign Languages, also at Highlands University.

See NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 26, no. 2, for a discussion of the Torres Papers of which these documents constitute a part.

2. The *alcaldes* were local justices of the peace, responsible to the territorial governor. This document and those to follow refute the statement of Twitchell that the *alcaldes* kept no written records, had meager information about the law, and disposed of cases largely according to local custom. R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1911), II, pp. 9-13.

3. The Deputation was a provincial legislative council of from four to six members, according to Twitchell, but his list of incumbents for the year 1826 included eight names. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 8-10.

The resident who without legal cause may fail to work in the repair of the roads, four reals.

Anyone named for an expedition or pursuit of enemies who may fail to go or may return without cause known to the responsible authority, three pesos.

Any individual who may cause a disorder at a public entertainment, three pesos, without prejudicing other punishment which may have accrued to him according to law.

To him who may be proved that he did damage to the springs of water reserved for household use, by making them filthy or committing other harmful acts, four reals.

Those individuals who come from other states, for each load of commercial goods which are sold in a kind of space [booth or stall]⁴ will pay one real, excusing from this rule those articles which are given express dispensation by law.

Any judge who fails to collect these fines of those apprehended in violation of the provisions of the present schedule will pay each citizen for denouncing said infraction, giving him in reward one real for each peso collected by virtue of this denunciation.

The supervisor of the mother irrigation ditch and of the repair of the highways, which is offered in the summer for the benefit of employment, who does not comply exactly with the obligations of his responsibility, will pay three pesos fine.

For each gambler will be exacted three pesos fine; for the owner of the house in which gambling is found, six pesos.

For a license for tumblers or a puppet show, two pesos.

For a license for a game of billiards⁵ two pesos, with provision for continuing until eight at night, two pesos.

For failure of cleanliness in that for which each person is responsible, two reals.

Each individual who slaughters cattle must give notice to the justice of his jurisdiction⁶ and for not complying will be fined one peso.

This is a copy of the original which exists in the archives of the Most Excellent Deputation of this Territory, Santa Fe, March 23 of 1824—Francisco Perez Serrano y Aguirre, Secretary.⁷

This is an exact copy of that which exists in the archives of this Villa of Albuquerque,⁸ 2nd of June of 1824—It is a copy which is sent to Socorro.

4. *clase de piso.*

5. *juego de chusas.*

6. *residencia.*

7. Francisco Perez Serrano y Aguirre was a member of the Provincial Deputation of 1826. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, note, page 10.

8. Then spelled *Albuquerque.*

Manuel Armijo⁹

Political and Military Government of the Territory of New Mexico—The schedule of regulations prepared by the Ayuntamiento¹⁰ of this town on the 11th of last February, having been presented to the Most Excellent Provincial Deputation, he is pleased to concur, excepting any error,¹¹ and they are approved only with the following schedule of articles:

Any individual who pays for or receives livestock with cropped ears, not justifying it before the Constitutional Alcalde, or who may be under the presumption of this, will suffer a fine of ten per cent. [of the sale price], understanding that the aforesaid fine applies only to the seller or buyer who may have violated this regulation, inasmuch as if he is known to have been an auxiliary to this crime, he will be judged with the formalities of the law, explaining to him the penalty which is deserved, but free [excused]¹² from the aforesaid fine.

Second. For the sheep which approach this jurisdiction the Ayuntamiento will have to provide a certain line [fence?] in order that they may not damage the pasture of the respective parties, and he who transgresses said article will have to suffer five pesos.

Third. Any individual¹³ who willingly receives Chihuahua silver¹⁴ will have to suffer 25 pesos fine.

This I submit for the information of Your Most Illustrious Lordship¹⁵ for circulation among the Alcaldes who recognize this as the seat of government,¹⁶ in order to bring about the desired effects.

God and Liberty—Santa Fe,
March 23 of 1824,

Antonio Narbona¹⁷

This is an exact copy of the official [copy] which exists in the archives of this town of Albuquerque, 2nd of June of 1824.—

Manuel Armijo

9. Manuel Armijo of Albuquerque was governor 1827-8, promoted a revolution in 1837, was governor again from 1838 to 1847, crushed the Texan invasion of New Mexico in 1842, and failed finally to rally an effective defense against General Stephen Kearny in 1846. *Twitchell, op. cit.*, II, pp. 25, 63-7, 78-81, 207-9; Max L. Moorhead, translator and editor, "Notes and Documents," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXVI, #1, (January, 1951), pp. 68-82.

10. The *ayuntamiento* was a town council found only in the larger communities; it was comprised of at least two *alcaldes* and six *regidores* (aldermen). Lansing B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration," *Old Santa Fe*, I, #1 (July, 1913), pp. 44-5.

11. S. E., for *salvo error*.

12. *livre*.

13. The archaic spelling of many of these words is interesting, as *eindividuo*.

14. *plata Chiguagueña*.

15. V. S. I., for *Vueseñoria Ilustrísima*.

16. *por cabesera*.

17. Narbona was territorial governor from September, 1825, to May, 1827. *Twitchell, op. cit.*, II, note, page 25.

Revised Statutes of 1826

Illustrious Ayuntamiento¹⁸.—The commission requested by Your Lordship to devise means for establishing funds from which to provide for urgent needs will require, on the one hand, preparation for presentation to the Most Excellent Deputation,¹⁹ which now controls the sole manner by which what was already established can be effectuated and revoked in order to obtain it in another manner, and on the other hand, bringing to view the lamentable state of affairs to which these people are found reduced; but finding themselves in the necessity of complying with the request they can do no less than to resort to such means as may be less onerous and may yield the returns desired. These [means] are those derived from mature experience, whereby the disorders and problems with which the authorities are occupied are found to result from the failure of light penalties or those minor transgressions which are committed indifferently, by not having a clear law which states the penalties deserved by those who commit them; thus there is formed a list of these failings, with a monetary punishment designated for each, obtaining the avoidance of harm and the establishment of funds which are to the benefit of the same public, in behalf of whom, and in behalf of compliance with the exactitude which this important matter requires, now the following are submitted for the satisfaction of your opinion:

First. In this territory a few ignore that those who take livestock in partnership, from the first year that they receive them they begin to sell, from which disposition the result is that in a short time they lose all and remain without credit, deprived of their livelihood, their family in a state of misery, and the owner of the livestock without possessions, for which reason, and for the reason that meanwhile this party does not have an advance [payment], he who receives [such livestock] cannot dispose of it in such condition because of its being in the ownership of somebody else; since anyone may not buy safely because of not being able to ignore that such possessions may know another owner, it is quite desirable to impose that for him who is denounced for buying cattle, mutton, or sheep in partnership, which is not known in advance by the foreman or shepherd, if it is cattle, three pesos fine for him who sells it and one peso for him who buys it and satisfaction of the rightful owner; and if it is mutton or sheep, one peso for him who sells it and—²⁰ reals for him who buys it and the satisfaction of the owner, returning from him who bought it to him who sold it that which he gave for it²¹—the buyer does not pay anything and only returns what he bought.

18. On the *ayuntamiento*, see note 10 for the *Provincial Statutes of 1824-1826*.

19. Concerning the Deputation, see note 3, above document.

20. This figure is marked over so that it is illegible.

21. It seems that the "bought" and "sold" in this sentence are in inverted order, but it is translated as it was written; in fact it is difficult to divine the meaning of several parts of this complex article.

2. From the great damage which the animals do to the cultivated fields²² results loss to the owners, developing into such a bad practice that there are many who intentionally turn their animals loose at night with a *riata* on the neck and a stake in the joint [knot],²³ so as to disown [responsibility] by saying that it had got loose from the tether; since from this result consequences which none must ignore, it is necessary to impose upon all owners of animals which may do damage that they pay for this and two reals fine for each head; and if they are found at night on the borders²⁴ of the fields, even if they are with a person and may not yet have done damage, in order to avoid such an outcome the two reals will be exacted. Approved.

3. By not securing the drainage and cross ditches for irrigation, if from this floods originate for the highways and fields and thereby diminish their value much and cause the travellers to suffer, therefore he who was the cause of this result will be required to pay the damage or cost of the labor and in all cases one peso fine. Approved.

4. In time of drought when the water is rationed²⁵ there are many greedy persons who want to irrigate by cutting off the water which the distributor assigned someone, from which effrontery regularly follow blows which always bring some sad result; therefore he who commits this transgression must suffer twelve reals fine, one peso for the fund and four reals for him who was irrigating in recompense for the evil deed which he did him. Approved.

5. There is work in this village in which all must take part, as the mother ditch, the church, because of not having a shop,²⁶ and the aqueduct,²⁷ and in order that in this some may not be assigned the work more years than others, it is desirable to assess him who fails, without legal reason after due warning, four reals fine,—two for his disobedience and two for the work which he should have lent. Approved.

6. It is known that in order to assert a right orally before the authorities there are many who are extreme in insulting remarks, lacking in the respect which they owe them, and in order that this bad practice may not continue, it appears desirable that the individual who indulges in such rudeness be assessed one peso fine. Disapproved because of having laws which place penalties upon such crimes.

7. Any individual who was named for an expedition or pursuit of enemies and did not go or was absent without legal reason or the consent of the respective authority will pay three pesos fine, which rule applies only while there are no troops [available] for this object. Approved.

22. *labores.*

23. *junta.*

24. *las circunferencias.*

25. *se rreparte.*

26. *fabrica.*

27. *burro.* According to Andrés Hernández and Antonio Leger, of Las Vegas, *burro* was used to mean a land fill to carry a ditch straight across a depression rather than around by contour.

8. It is evident that the author of nature has not imposed the silence of the night with any other object than sleep and rest for living things, and even if some transgressions invert this custom in order thereby to engage in diversions and authorized social companionship,²⁸ since here we lack such things, it may be clearly inferred that anyone who goes forth through the plazas and fields after nine at night henceforth must be held in detention until the following day and assessed one peso fine. Approved with the condition that a curfew be rung at nine at night.

9. Any individual who causes a disorder at a public entertainment must give up three pesos fine. Approved, provided always that the disorder is not one which falls [otherwise] under the penalty of the law.

10. Regularly from some wells in all of the plazas they draw water which serves for cooking and for [washing] utensils, because of the distance to the river, especially in the winter; and there are many who also use them to bathe and for other filthy practices which are harmful to the health, and since this latter use must be avoided, it is desirable that he who bathes [in them] or is caught indulging in other uncleanness be assessed four reals fine in order to avoid this damage. Approved.

11. For the individual who may be found stealing from the fields will be exacted that he pay for all that which is missing in them and that he labor for two months on public works. Approved, and that he be punished according to the rule by the law.

12. Those persons who come from Sonora to Viscaya to trade in this jurisdiction are forbidden to graze in the meadows and if they want to do it only in the daytime they must pay a quarter of a real for each animal, with also a fee of one peso for each load sold at retail, which duty will not apply to the stranger in whose behalf it is shown that in that state they do not exact a greater duty of those who come to trade from this territory. Disapproved in the first part, and in the second one real for the privilege of a space [stall] for each load.²⁹

Finally, this decree covers all of the sources or origins from which grave consequences may arise, and even though we have observed great moderation with respect to the poverty of the people, its application can no less than produce for ultimate effect the avoidance of such results; therefore in order to obtain most exact fulfillment for this municipal provision it is desirable that any individual who may denounce violations be given one real of each peso of those which must be exacted, and the authority who has knowledge of this but overlooks [violations] or does not exact fines with the required punctuality must pay five pesos fine.

28. *sociedades licotas.*

29. *por rraason de piso a cada cargo.*

This is the opinion of the commission; however Your Lordship³⁰ shall resolve what is most desirable. Approved in all its parts—Done³¹ March 30 of 1826.

Jose Maria Sedillo

Jose Maria Baca³²

The following having been referred to the attention of the commission, the lack of time does not permit arranging it in its respective place, yet it is adopted as a continuation:

13. The supervisor of the mother ditch and of repairs on the aqueduct³³ who does not comply exactly with the duties of his employment will be removed from it and charged ten pesos fine. Approved for three pesos and not ten.

Jose Maria Sedillo

Jose Maria Baca

This is a copy of the original, Santa Fe, April 16 of 1826.

Teodosio Quintana, Secretary³⁴

This is an exact copy of the original in this archive which is in my charge, exact, faithful and legal; done April 20 of 1827.

Juan de Jesus.³⁵

The Case of the Three Mules

In this Village of San Miguel de Socorro on the fourth of the month of February of eighteen hundred thirty three, on said day appeared before me in this my court Citizen Juan Geronimo Torres, resident of the Jurisdiction of Sabinal, informing me that Citizen Luciana Serna, resident of this jurisdiction, knew and knows well that Citizen Marcelino Garcia, resident of the Jurisdiction of Albuquerque, related to him with all truth that Citizen Andres Montaña stole from Don Geronimo Torres [sic] three mules and that at the place of Caritas he traded them for three other mules, and I, the Constitutional Alcalde³⁶ of the said Jurisdiction, considered it best to call into my court the informant, Luciano Serna, alone, and stating to him frankly the questions and the request that he speak the truth, he responded in the following manner:

30. V. S.

31. *Tomé*.

32. Jose Maria Baca was a member of the Deputation in 1831-2. R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1911), II, note, p. 11. The name of this Sedillo does not appear among those listed in Twitchell's *Leading Facts* or in his *Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1914).

33. *composicion del burro*. See note 27, above.

34. Teodosio Quintana signed other documents in 1826 as Secretary of the Deputation, and he was a member of the Deputation again in 1831-2. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, II, note, page 11; Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, I, page 49.

35. The name of Juan de Jesus does not appear in either of the above publications, note 32.

36. On the *alcalde*, see note 2 for *Provincial Statutes of 1824 to 1826*.

First, that as a Catholic Christian he would declare that for three years he knew that Montañó committed the theft of the said mules and that in that time he had this information from the said Garcia, in the second place he said that he was to be found resolute in what he had declared and that in proof of the truth it was always only necessary to confront the aforesaid Marcelino Garcia, and when confronted he would tell the places and hours of the aforesaid communication, and having had read to him this declaration one, two, and three times, he verified it and did not sign it because he said he did not know how.

Likewise I called in the above-named Don Juan Geronimo Torres, who for additional confirmation attested to the present declaration, awaiting the appeal which precedes.

I, Citizen Jose Antonio Baca, Constitutional Alcalde of San Miguel de Socorro, authorize by the power which is conferred upon me according to law the declaration which precedes, and in order that it may have full force I sign it with the proof of my witnesses who were present at this declaration.

God and Law, Pueblo of San Miguel de Socorro,

February 4 of 1833.

Jose Antonio Baca

Witness

Jose Antonio Fajarda

Witness

Marcos Baca

In this Jurisdiction of my office, San Antonio del Sabinal, before me, Ramon Torres, the Constitutional Alcalde of said jurisdiction, appeared in their own persons the citizens Andres Montañó of the Jurisdiction of Albuquerque and Don Juan Geronimo Torres of this my jurisdiction, Montañó saying that he traded with Torres for two jacks and a mule, without a bill of sale, for which jacks and mule, said Montañó avowed that he traded for them three mules which he sent by freight [train]³⁷ to the said Juan Geronimo Torres, which he lost, and on account of not having a bill of sale for the said animals he, the aforesaid Montañó, was obligated to suffer all of the cost and expense which originated from this for him, the above-said Don Geronimo Torres; likewise the aforesaid Montañó said that he bought these animals at the ranch of Jaños from Don Francisco Rico, resident of the large house, and moreover the above Montañó said that two of the said animals were those which he bought of the said Rico and the other he bought of Don Manuel Sanchez of New Mexico.³⁸

In order that this be accepted as true in all of the courts where it may be presented, I, said Constitutional Alcalde, upon the request of the said men place upon it my judicial authority and I sign it with

37. It is clearly *flete*, which is assumed here to mean *flete*.

38. It is interesting that he referred to another locality, probably to the north, as "New Mexico."

the power which is conferred upon me. I give faith and I know the grantors.³⁹

Sabinal, June 10, 1837.

Ramon Torres

As witness

Manuel Ballejas

*The Case of the Stolen Cows*⁴⁰

In this Village of San Antonio of Sabinal on the twenty-fourth day of the month of July of eighteen hundred thirty four, I, Citizen Juan Geronimo Torres, Constitutional Alcalde of the said jurisdiction, at about eight in the morning appeared before me in this my court Juan del Campo, notifying me that he had a cow stolen and that he has information that the thief is Manuel Peña, resident of the same jurisdiction, and as evidence of the fact of the theft he gave as witnesses Joaquin de los Rios and Jose Montes whom I made appear in my court one by one and they declared the following: that on the bank of the Rio Puerco they came upon Manuel Peña skinning a cow and they realized that Juan del Campo is the owner, and having verified the fact of the theft I ordered the offender called with the power which is conferred upon me, and being present in his own person, the offender declared first that I am known as Manuel Peña, of married status, of occupation as a servant waiter, known to be thirty-five years of age, confessing the crime in full, that he slaughtered the said cow, which he disposed of, and that he could not say anything else, and in consideration of the impudence and the crime which motivated the culprit, Manuel Peña, in employment of the powers which are conferred upon me, in order that the above-said culprit may not be left without due punishment, I give him as a sentence the time of four months of seclusion in jail and I impose upon him that from eight of the morning until six of the afternoon he labor on public works until he completes his term for the satisfaction of the blessed public,⁴¹ and for proper verification this may thus be affirmed according to the law of 22 of July of 1833. According to its articles and from lack of a notary, which the said law explains, I may sign it with the witnesses in my presence, for whom I give faith.

Juan Geronimo Torres

Witness

John Doe⁴²

Witness

John Doe

Witness

John Doe

On the same day and date, I, Citizen, Juan Geronimo Torres, Con-

39. *doy fee y conosco a los otorgantes.*

40. The anonymous witnesses, the inserted note, the unnamed governor, and the vague date of the last article all suggest that this was a sample record of a fictitious case prepared to show how the records should be kept.

41. *la bendita publica.*

42. *fulano.*

stitutional Alcalde of the aforesaid Jurisdiction, judge of this case, having verified the theft, said that with respect to the convicted culprit in the crime which is confessed by Manuel Peña, resident of this my district, I had to order and did order that he be secluded in formal prison, stating this legally for the culprit, which he had read to him, this act with all else which preceded it from the beginning, all known to have been [done] in the presence of witnesses in attendance, and with this resolution I delivered him to the custody of Jose Estreya who may act in the capacity of jailer, thus I provide, order, and sign it in the presence of my witnesses, as stated, and for whom I give faith.

Juan Geronimo Torres

Witness

Witness

Witness

John Doe

John Doe

John Doe

The culprit remains in the national jail of this village, charged to the custody of Jose Estrella, who does not sign it because he does not know how [therefore] I may do it, the above-named judge of this case, and I sign it with my witness, as provided, for whom I give faith.

Juan Geronimo Torres

Witness

Witness

John Doe

John Doe

This far it will be copied and is remitted to the *Jefe Politico*⁴³ on a sheet of paper and it is transmitted with the official [letter] which follows on legal length paper⁴⁴ and is enclosed together and sent before one month expires.

Giving attention to the Tenth Article of the Law of 22 of July of 1833, which orders that Your Lordship be informed of the case of the culprit Manuel Peña, whom I judge according to the rule in the First and Second Articles of said law, with which I give it the proper fulfillment.

Juan Geronimo Torres

Señor Jefe Politico John Doe⁴⁵

In this Village of San Antonio del Sabinal on so many⁴⁶ days of the months of May and August of 1833, I, Citizen Geronimo Torres, Constitutional Alcalde and judge of this case, considering that Manuel Peña served his prison term and is sufficiently punished for the theft which he committed, in his behalf I order the jailer who is charged with his custody to set him free, warned that in the future he should behave with honesty and should not commit another waste and scandal for the blessed public, and this act I the aforesaid Constitutional Alcalde thus approve and order and sign as provided.

Juan Geronimo Torres

43. Political Head, or Provincial Governor.

44. *quarteron de papel*, evidently one-fourth of their large manuscript sheets which made four legal length pages.

45. *fulano*.

46. *los tantos dias*.

The Case of the Wedding Gifts

In obedience to the superior decree dated the 8th of October of the present year, which has been directed to me by the Honorable Subprefect⁴⁷ and made me responsible for its contents, I made appear the parties who litigate this or become familiar with the affair as attorneys, and in consequence of this, following some differences which they had, I requested them to make a compromise, and not having it, I ordered them to bring a man, each one good for his part, and Don Antonio Chavez brought Don Mariano Silva and Don Jose Campos Redondo brought Diego Armijo, and being both in consultation about this, it appeared to the said Armijo that as a judgment it should be imposed upon Don Juan Antonio Armijo to restore all that his woman brought to his house as the ownership of her parents, as well as the wedding presents which Armijo said he gave her, and Silva was of the opinion that Armijo should give back whatever he might have brought to his house for her, verifying this by what she had charge of, likewise the gifts, being furnishings, and I, the said judge, coming of the opinion of Armijo, ruled that the said Juan Antonio Armijo make satisfaction with [give back] the cattle, the sow, and the presents which he acknowledges and the little pigs, which I resolve upon as my verdict, which I give due validity, signing it with the above-named and the witnesses present, with whom I act as . . .⁴⁸ in this contract,⁴⁹ lacking a seal because of poverty, for it I give faith.

Juan Geronimo Torres

As witness

Manuel Ballejos

Jose Antonio Giron

Manuel Silva

Diego Armijo

[This concludes the Second Series]

47. The Prefects and Subprefects were the Governor's administrative assistants. F. W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891), pp. 282-3.

48. One word is faded beyond recognition.

49. *papel comun*.

Book Reviews

Pageant in the Wilderness, the diary and itinerary of the expedition of Fathers Domínguez and Escalante into the area northwest of New Mexico; translated, annotated, and furnished with a historical introduction by Herbert E. Bolton. Pp. 265, xi. Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1950. \$5.50.

One hundred and seventy-five years ago the two Frailes Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante set out from Santa Fe to discover a land route that would connect the Spanish Province of New Mexico with Monterey, California. Of the group that accompanied them two others should be mentioned, Captain Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco for the beautiful colored maps he made of the Province of New Mexico, and Andrés Muñiz because he had already visited the domain of the Yuta Indians through which the expedition was to pass, and knew their language.

The group followed old trails, and encountered Indians well known to New Mexico almost to the point where they entered the present state of Utah. From here they were breaking new trail. That the Yutas encountered near Utah Lake and called Lagunas, or Lake Indians, and those seen as the party traveled south into Utah's Dixie and called "Yutas Cobardes," or timid Yutas, were bands previously unknown to the Spanish can be discerned by reading Escalante.

Crossing the Colorado River and returning to Santa Fe, the expedition failed to open the proposed route and was not of great significance to the future history of New Mexico, but as Domínguez wrote before the departure from Santa Fe:

Even though we may not achieve our purpose, which is to explore a road from this kingdom to Monterey, much advance will be made by the knowledge we can acquire of the lands through which we shall travel, and it will be very useful in subsequent attempts. Moreover, we plan to return through Cosnina [the land of the Havasupai], to confirm that nation in its good intention to be christianized, and to sepa-

rate it entirely (if God so favors us) from the Moquinos [Hopis], who are so opposed to the conversion of themselves and others.

The expedition was not a failure as far as Domínguez and Escalante were concerned. They had seen new lands and visited new peoples, with whom they left the message of Christianity. The historian has, in addition to the record of an early trip through Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, an example of the virility of the Spanish citizens of the new world, and of the stuff of which some of the members of the religious orders were made.

An Anglo-American first translated a part of the diary kept by Escalante almost a hundred years ago. This synopsis of the journey appeared in the government surveys of the territories of the United States. Since then, Coues, translator and editor of the Garcés diary, commented upon and planned to edit the journal of the travels of Domínguez and Escalante, but did not get beyond the planning stage; W. R. Harris translated the diary as a part of his history of the Catholic Church in Utah; Jessie Hazel Power, a student of Professor Bolton, used the Domínguez-Escalante expedition as the subject of a Masters Thesis; and Herbert S. Auerbach edited and translated the manuscript which was published with a fine collection of early maps of the area by the Utah Historical Society in 1943.

There are some differences in the Bolton and Auerbach translations of the documents, but the most important contribution made by this publication is the historical introduction, which contains a "blow by blow" description of the travels of the "Splendid Wayfarers." Supplied by Dr. Bolton as the result of field trips by automobile, on horseback, and on foot over the trail they followed, this portion of the work was previewed in the article "Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip" which appeared in the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW in 1928.

The introduction and Dr. Bolton's "asides" help to clarify names and places for modern readers and add "color" to the recorded events. The inclusion of a copy of an original Miera y Pacheco map in color, plus a map by Bolton with stopping

places marked, day by day, also helps the reader to orient himself as he follows the diary.

Approximately half of the book is Professor Bolton's introduction to the diary, and the other half is the translation, with notes. Two sets of notes are kept, those marked by stars for editorial comment, and the numbered notes to correlate the daily record in the diary with the campsites and other data shown on Bolton's map.

Escalante's editors and translators have failed to do two things in the way of performing a service to their readers: they have not properly evaluated the significance of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition to the history of New Mexico (its present significance appears to be only in relation to the history of Utah), and they have not shown the importance of Domínguez to the undertaking. (Eleanor Adams is now editing and translating the record of the *Visita*, or tour of inspection, of Domínguez to the missions of New Mexico. This, and accompanying letters by both Domínguez and Escalante, promise to further enlighten those interested in the expedition).

The reproduction of an oil painting giving the artist's (Keith Eddington) concept of the appearance of the expedition, and the inclusion of significant photographs, adds to the appearance of the publication. Written with the layman in mind, the book will also be read with interest by historians, anthropologists, students of Utah history, and those with a wider interest in the accomplishments of Spain in America.

S. LYMAN TYLER

University of Utah

Travels in Search of the Elephant: The Wanderings of Alfred S. Waugh, Artist, in Louisiana, Missouri, and Santa Fe, in 1845-1846. John Francis McDermott, editor. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1951. Pp. xxi, 153.

This publication is a worthwhile addition to the literature on the mid-nineteenth century American frontier. Despite the oddities in spelling and the lapses from orthodox

punctuation, Mr. Waugh has left an interesting account of life when the Santa Fe trail was at its heyday. He made at least one trip over the trail, and lived for a few weeks in Santa Fe just prior to the arrival of the Army of the West in 1846.

An artist by profession, a keen observer of people and environment, he failed to develop any enthusiasm for life in New Mexico comparable to that which marked the attitude of the artists who discovered the beauties of the country during this century. On the contrary, he wrote a very realistic description of Santa Fe which illustrates the rather common failure of foreigners to do otherwise when visiting here in the era of Mexican rule. This realism was usually tinged with prejudice due to the differences in cultural background that marked the Mexican and the outsider. The bulk of the publication, however, deals with the eastern environment of the trail. It is descriptive and at times exciting, especially when the writer is describing his own shooting scrape.

Waugh wrote a three part manuscript, but only the first part has been preserved. This is known as the Waugh Collection and is housed in the library of the Missouri Historical Society. It covers Waugh's experiences from Mobile to the time of departure for Santa Fe. His experiences in Santa Fe described in a long letter is reprinted from the *Southern Literary Messenger*. A short excerpt from Part II of the manuscript, which has not been preserved, is reprinted from the *Western Journal*.

Mr. McDermott has contributed a ten page biographical sketch of Waugh based on the available and scanty sources. He has also done an excellent job of annotation. A bibliography and index complete the volume. The printing and binding is well done.

F. D. R.

New Mexico
Historical Review

JUL 22 1952



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

July, 1952

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VOL. XXVII

JULY, 1952

No. 3

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

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CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

*Final
Time*

*Res
Time*

November 21st 1910
10 P.M.

ROLL CALL

November 22^d 1910
3.00 P.M.

NAME	AYES	NAYES	NAME	AYES	NAYES	NAME	AYES	NAYES
Abeytia, A. C.	/		Gutierrez, Anastacio	/		Navarro, Juan	/	
Aragon, J. J.	/		Harrille, A. H.	/	<i>explained</i>	O'Brien P. J.	/	
Armijo, Isidoro	/		Harrison, R.	/	<i>explained</i>	Ortega, Victor	/	
Baker, G. N.	/		Hart, Squire, Jr.	/		Page, Gregory	/	
Bartlett, Norman W.	/		Heflin, R. W.	/		Pankey, B. F.	/	
Becker, John	/		Hell, James A.	/	<i>explained</i>	Parler, Frank W.	/	
x Brice, C. R.	/	<i>explained in vote</i>	Hinkle, John I.	/	<i>explained</i>	Patterson, Green B.	/	<i>explained</i>
Brown, Fred S.	/		Holloman, Reed	/		Patton, Emmett		<i>out of town</i>
Brown, George S.	/		House, J. L.	/		Pritchard, George W.	/	
Burns, Thomas D.	/		Hudspeth, A. H.	/	<i>explained</i>	Raynolds, Herbert F.	/	
Burnam, H. O.	/		Jaramillo, Veneciao	/		Richardson, G. A.	/	<i>explained</i>
Canning, John	/		Kelly, Harry W.	/		Ruberts, C. J.	/	
Cassidy, Daniel	/		Kohn, Charles H.	/		Roibal, Atanasio	/	
Catron, T. B.	/	<i>proy</i>	Labadie, Tranquilino	/	<i>proy</i>	Romero, Eugenio	/	
o Childers, J. W.		<i>explained</i>	Lawson, J. L.	/	<i>proy</i>	Romero, J. Francisco	/	
Crist, J. H.		<i>out of town</i>	Linsey, W. E.	/		Romero, Margarito	/	
Clancey, J. G.	/		Lucero, Emanuel	/		Sandoval, Alejandro	/	
x Compton, C. M.	/	<i>explained</i>	Lucero, Jose Amado	/		Saxon, E. F.	/	<i>explained</i>
Cunningham, J. M.	/		Luna, Solomon	/		Sedillo, A. A.	/	
x Davidson, C. C.	/	<i>explained</i>	Mabry, T. J.	/	<i>explained</i>	Segura, Nepomuceno	/	
Davis, S. B. Jr.	/		Maes, Luciano	/		Sena, Jose D.	/	
x Dougherty, H. M.	/	<i>explained</i>	Martinez, Malaquias	/		o Skeen, M. P.	/	
x Eldred, Samuel	/		Martinez, Onesimo	/		Springer, Charles	/	
Equibel, Perfecto	/		Martinez, Salome	/		Stern, M. L.	/	
Fall, A. B.	/	<i>explained</i>	McDonald, A. B.	/		Stover, E. S.	/	
...			McIntosh, William	/		o Taylor, M. D.	/	<i>explained</i>
o Fergusson, H. B.	/	<i>explained</i>	McKean, William	/		o Tittman, Edward D.	/	<i>explained</i>
Field, F. C.	/		Medina, Anastacio	/		Upton, James N.		<i>not present</i>
o Fitch, James G.	/		Miera, E. A.	/	<i>proy</i>	Vigil, Candelario	/	
Gallegos, Acasio	/		Miller, C. E.	/		o Walton, William B.	/	<i>explained</i>
Gallegos, E. F.	/		Mirabal, Sylvestre	/		Winston, F. H.	/	
Garrison, W. E.	/	<i>explained</i>	Moffet, George E.	/	<i>explained</i>	Wood, Francis E.	/	<i>explained</i>
Gaona, Francisco	/		Montoya, Nestor	/		Mr. President	/	
o Gilchrist, James B.	/		Murray, W. D.	/		Total	25	

x *Other voting yes*
o *Dem voting no*

Final list 12. C. M.

79 18

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVII

JULY, 1952

No. 3

NEW MEXICO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: RECOLLECTIONS

By EDWARD D. TITTMANN*

NOT LONG after the Enabling Act had been passed by Congress and signed by President Taft sentiment was encouraged by various sources that the convention should not be organized along political party lines. Just why anyone should believe that a convention to achieve a political end could be organized on non-political lines is not clear. The Republican Party at that time was in an overwhelming majority in the Territory, and only the southwest portion consisting of Luna and Grant Counties was Democratic in addition to the counties which joined Texas, which were inhabited mainly by people from Texas and other southern states and who had very little in common with the rest of the territory. There were, however, several able men of Democratic faith living in Republican communities, such as H. B. Fergusson, Harry M. Daugherty, James G. Fitch, Felix Martinez, and J. H. Crist. On the other hand, the Republicans of ability who lived in Democratic counties included A. B. Fall, Reed Holloman, and W. E. Lindsey. Harry Daugherty had as one of his clients one of the top Republicans, Holm O. Bursum. The desire to get the best thought of the territory into the convention may have had something to do with the desire for a non-partisan convention.

It was not long, however, before partisanship won out as was to have been expected. On the first day, October 3,

* Lawyer and long-time resident of Hillsboro, New Mexico. Delegate to the convention from Sierra County.

1910, the Democrats, 29 in number, tried to sit together. But on the next day the convention decided that delegates from one county should sit together. Among a total of 100 delegates the 29 Democrats became so widely distributed that a spontaneous effort to achieve something on the floor could not get anywhere unless it had been pre-arranged in caucus. Besides the Democratic delegates were not always of one mind. There were among them some radicals who sometimes suspected the conservative portion of being lukewarm on some issues.

My seat was two rows behind A. B. Fall, from Otero County, right in the middle of the house facing the President, which was an advantageous position from which to conduct or take part in the political struggles which soon developed.

One of the first of these was over the reading of the Journal. The official Journal, as published after the convention had adjourned, is by no means a reliable report of what happened on the floor. One reason why it is not correct is that for quite a few days the reading of the Journal was dispensed on motion without a roll call or other method of counting the vote on such motion. The reading of the Journal was provided for by Rule 53:

As soon as the Convention is called to order, prayer may be offered and a quorum being present, the journal of the preceding day shall be read by the Secretary and, if necessary, corrected by the Convention.

Rule 50 provided that no rule shall be suspended except by a vote of at least two-thirds of the members present.

The reading being dispensed with every morning and no copies of the previous day's proceedings being delivered to the delegates no one except the officers would know what the Journal said had occurred. The point of order was made that it would require a two-thirds vote to dispense with the reading. This was embarrassing to the presiding officer who sustained the point of order. Thereafter the Journal was actually read until the rule was changed. After that the contents of the Journal became again a dark secret, as every morning Delegate E. A. Miera, Sandoval County, rose to make the formal motion.

One of the hotly contested subjects was the article on apportionment. Of course the Republicans, putting aside for the moment the desirability of a non-partisan convention, had their eyes on the coming elections. These would determine whether or not there would be a legislature favorable to the selection of two Republicans for the place of United States senator from New Mexico. In those days senators were elected by the legislature and not by primary petitions. I personally filed a suggestion that judicial, legislative, and other districts should be along lines of communication with easy amendment or change by the legislature. In those days lines of communication were determined by the lines of railroad. To go from Doña Ana County to Otero County one had to take the Santa Fe to El Paso and the El Paso and Northwestern to Alamogordo. To go from Farmington to Santa Fe one had to take the Denver & Rio Grande narrow gage to Durango, Colo., thence to Alamosa, Colorado, and then south to Santa Fe.

Gallup in McKinley County could be reached by railroad from Santa Fe via Sandoval County, Bernalillo County and Valencia County. But on the north it joined San Juan County which joined Rio Arriba County which joined Santa Fe County. So instead of making a judicial district joining Bernalillo, Valencia and McKinley counties along the best roads of communication, the Republicans proposed to join McKinley County to San Juan County to Rio Arriba County to Santa Fe County for the First Judicial District. Doña Ana County then heavily Republican was joined to Otero County of doubtful political persuasion, Lincoln County often Democratic, and Torrance County mainly Republican. This seemed to assure the election of a Republican in that district. Similar allocations were worked out for the Senatorial Districts, where small counties were attached to large Republican Counties. So, for instance, Socorro County had its own senator but, combined with other counties in other senatorial "shoe-string" districts, controlled the political color of three other districts.

There was a general demand from many counties that there should be at least one representative from each county.

The controlling interests in the convention used this demand to secure the approval by many delegates of the gerrymander of the State in other respects.

When the matter came up for vote the delegates from the small counties were advised that they had better vote for the proposed apportionment. There was a roll call and each delegate was supposed to say something in its favor. We did, but not all of what was said was complimentary.

Nevertheless, the apportionment stood for nearly forty years. When the Democrats finally secured control of the State they did not find it necessary to change the apportionment which their representatives in the convention had fought so hard. The influx of voters from Texas, Oklahoma, and other southern States made unnecessary a change in so political a subject.

Another ticklish question was whether or not the Constitution should contain a provision prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors. The Democratic delegates from the East side of the Territory were supported by numerous petitions from Republican as well as Democratic women which demanded that such a provision be included. The fact that many Republicans had a backpower of prohibitionists made the situation difficult for the men who were running the convention. There were several adjournments of the motions for and against the proposition, and then, one day, when the Democratic members were caucusing on some subject, the matter was brought up on the floor. Whenever we had a caucus some member was left behind to watch the proceedings, and on this afternoon I was that person. I rushed immediately to the caucus room on the floor below and yelled, "Prohibition!" Thereupon the Democrats who were almost all for the prohibition proposition, whether they liked it or not, streamed back to the convention floor, much to the disgust of the floor leaders, and the call for and against was made by a rising vote. Behind me sat the Reverend Mr. Seder (I have forgotten his first name). When I rose with the affirmative votes that the proposition should be rejected, he pulled my coat-tails and said, "You don't want to vote that way," and I turned to reply, "I certainly do." I shall

never forget the look of surprise on his face. He could not understand that a man could be against a proposition and yet want his friends to have a chance to vote for it.

The proposition for prohibition was defeated.

But the most controversial and bitterly fought proposition was the article which would provide for the initiative and referendum. Oregon had pioneered the idea that the people themselves should have the right to propose legislation without asking the legislature and to repeal legislation enacted by the legislature.

These provisions had been actually the only ones about which there had been some campaigning before the election of the delegates. All the Democrats had been pledged to support it. And one Republican had pledged himself to support it. He came from a Democratic county. He had signed a promise to support the initiative and referendum and so the Democratic Committee put him on the list of delegates favorable to the proposition. But on the day when it came up for a vote he walked to the desk of the convention's Secretary and made a violent attack on the idea of adopting an initiative or referendum.

The debate on these provisions raged off and on and, in order to stop it, the management finally caused to be passed a resolution which provided that after a proposition had been debated and defeated it could not be renewed. Nevertheless, new propositions were being introduced every other day, each of them a little bit different, the last one on the very last day of the convention. The effect was that finally the management offered a compromise eliminating the initiative and permitting a referendum. So after days of torture the referendum was finally adopted.¹ It is still in the

1. My Draft of the Referendum as adopted by Committee on Revision:

The above power shall be known as the Referendum and shall be exercised as follows:

Petitions for the Referendum against any law, passed at the last preceding session of the legislature, shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months prior to the next general election. Such petitions shall be signed by not less than ten per cent of the qualified electors of each of $\frac{3}{4}$ of the counties and in the aggregate of not less than ten per cent of the qualified electors of the States as shown by this total number of votes cast at the last preceding general election (for Governor). The question of the approval or rejection of any law, against which the Referendum is invoked, shall be submitted to the electorate at the next general election; and if a

Constitution. It has been invoked several times, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The last attempt to invoke it was regarding the law for pre-primary conventions. On that occasion several questions were raised and submitted to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, not desiring to decide a controversial question which was tainted with politics, passed it off by relying on a previous decision which, however, had not passed at all on the question presented to the Court which was the necessity of some law to determine and prevent fraud in obtaining signatures for a valid referendum.

The provision for amending the Constitution made constitutional amendments almost impossible. This was the provision which was so obnoxious to the prevailing idea of easy amendment that Congress caused to be enacted a provision, on which the people were required to vote, which would make amendment easier. This was known as the "Blue Ballot amendment" because it was submitted to the voters on a separate ballot of blue color.

The Blue ballot amendment was intended to facilitate changes in the Constitution. George Curry, running for Congress on the Republican ticket, was one of the Republican candidates in the first state election of 1912 who publicly announced that he was in favor of that amendment. And he was elected on that promise.

One provision which caused much debate and considerable compromise was the one which gave women the right to vote in school elections. The Spanish speaking delegates, faithfully representing the then prevailing ideas of their people, were opposed to the theory that it was a good thing to let women vote. If you will read the first Section of Article VII on Elective Franchise, and use your imagination, you will see the kind of compromise that had to be made by the opposing parties in order to get the idea of votes for women in school elections into the Constitution.

The chief role of the Democrats was that of irritating

majority of the legal votes cast thereon at such election, and not less than forty per cent of the total number of legal votes cast at such general election, be cast for the rejection of such law, it shall be considered annulled; otherwise it shall remain in force unless, subsequently repealed by the legislature.

insects. They were a pretty smart bunch, these Democrats, and they knew that they could not get any of their pet schemes adopted. But they also knew that the Republican leaders were vulnerable in many ways, especially in the knowledge that this Constitution had to be adopted by a popular vote. Of course, then, the Democratic gadflies used every chance to sting the Republican body. It became so annoying that the Republican caucus, they called it a conference, issued the ukase that nothing proposed by a Democrat on the floor should be passed or adopted unless it had been previously approved by the Republican executive committee. If you read what remains of the Journal you will find very few instances where a Democratic motion was passed affirmatively.

I do not know, because I was never told, who were the ruling members of the Republican executive committee. However, from observation of what happened on the floor, I believe that Solomon Luna, of Valencia County, Holm Bursum of Socorro County, Charles Springer of Colfax County, and Charles A. Spiess, the "Black Eagle" of San Miguel, were the most potent members of that committee. Everyone of them was a personage. They were not small fry. They were men of great ability, of staunch belief in the righteousness of their cause, of wide and public view, and of generous appreciation of the ability and equal political honesty of their opponents.

Albert Bacon Fall it was thought did not carry the same power and influence as did the others, because of his emotional character. He and Bursum, a man of great dignity and hard to disturb, were no friends. Fall's wife and lovely daughter Jonett sat every other day near the door to the left of the President's chair, facing Fall, and keeping their eyes on him. And he knew it. Sarcastic and provocative remarks by Fall were permitted to go by because they were not out of bounds. One day he arose to address his remarks to the chair, then occupied by some one else than Charley Spiess. His unparliamentary language was directed against Delegate J. H. Crist from Rio Arriba County, a cultured and scholarly Democratic lawyer. I sat two rows behind Fall and

waited for someone to stop him. No one did. I rose: "Mr. President," I said, "I call the gentleman to order for using offensive and unparliamentary language against another delegate, the gentleman from Rio Arriba County, and I demand that the chair instruct the gentleman from Otero County to take his seat and if he fails to do so to have the Marshal conduct him from the hall." I think the Chairman was Isidoro Armijo from Doña Ana County. The poor fellow did not know what to do. While he was hesitating, Fall turned to look at me. I was told it had never happened to him before. Spiess came to the chair and noticing the tense atmosphere spoke: "The gentleman from Otero County will take his seat." The gavel fell once, twice, a third time, and Mr. Fall sat down. This was the only disturbing event of the convention. Delegate Crist never again attended a session, and he did not vote on the adoption of the Constitution.

There were a good many natural born orators in the Convention, and not a few of them displayed their abilities from time to time. There was Crist, a scholar versed in the works of Shakespeare, and there was Eugenio Romero of San Miguel whose fiery orations taxed the ability of the interpreters on the floor to translate them effectively into English. As the debates could be carried on in either English or Spanish, the role of the interpreters was an important one. I do not find their names listed in the official publication of the proceedings of the convention, but there does appear on page 4 a list of "Convention Clerks," and I suspect that the names there listed were the names of the interpreters. One of those mentioned, Cesario Pedregon, became later interpreter for the District Court of Doña Ana County. He was able and efficient in the exercise of his duties. But, if my memory serves me rightly, the ablest one was a little man who wore a black cape, and whose name was Hilario Ortiz. I believe he was of Santa Fe. During one of the impassioned speeches of Crist, who was known never to make a speech without quoting the Bard of Avon, to whom he referred as William "the great Shakespeare," Hilario was interpreting. The words floored him a moment and then he came thru

with: "El Grande Shakespeare." The Convention gave him an ovation of applause.

The most important Committee proved to be the Committee on Revisions and Arrangements. To it were referred all provisions finally adopted on the floor. The business of the Committee was to pass on the provisions as to clarity, grammar, punctuation, and spelling. After a provision had been scrutinized and, if necessary, rewritten, the result was handed to the Chairman, Charles Springer, who would take it to the floor, obtain recognition, and move the adoption whereupon it became a part of the proposed Constitution. Mr. Springer was an able, fair and honest man. Once, when some interested parties in high standing within the Republican Party wanted to "borrow" one of the resolutions in which they were deeply interested, Mr. Springer flatly refused them, because, he said, he would take no chances on that resolution being lost in the shuffle. The Committee consisted of some 15 members. The membership as shown in the official "Proceedings" is not correct. The composition of the Committee was changed. The working force consisted of Charles Springer, Stephen B. Davis, Jr., both Republicans, and Charles R. Brice, H. M. Dougherty and Edward D. Tittmann, Democrats. Mr. Springer discovered that I had been a newspaperman in the east as well as a lawyer, that I knew the English language, and so he turned over to me the resolutions adopted by the Committee for final approval as to clarity of language, punctuation, spelling and grammar. Some times he would permit me to make other alterations or suggestions for approval by the Committee. One instance was the Article on Mines and Mining, being Article VII, consisting of two sections, the second section directing the legislature to pass laws to prevent the employment in mines of children under 14. I suggested that this language left it open to the legislature to enact or not to enact such laws and, being familiar with legislative barriers, that the Constitution should itself provide against such employment; the language was changed to read: "No children under the age of fourteen years shall be employed in mines." Mr. Springer

immediately agreed to this change and the changed resolution was adopted on the floor and is now part of the Constitution. Very few changes in the language reported by the Committee were made on the floor. It is largely due to this that there have been so few disputes over the meaning of the provisions of the Constitution. And most of these arose out of Article XX, entitled "Miscellaneous," which contained many provisions which were afterthoughts and had been inserted too late by the Convention to enable the Committee on Revision and Arrangements to place them in their proper places and co-relate them with other provisions.

The time for the Convention to expire was November 21, 1910, and the official time for its final adjournment as entered in the Journal was 10 P. M. on that date. However, the Constitution at that hour had not yet been adopted and the reading of the document in its final form had not been finished. So the clock was turned back and the actual time of the final adjournment was 3:10 A. M., November 22, 1910. I would like to have printed with these recollections a copy of the original Roll Call on final adoption which I made at the time. The word "explained" after some votes means that the delegate made some statement giving reasons for his vote either for or against adoption. I would also like to state that I quit the Democratic Party in 1919 when I resigned as Secretary of the State Central Committee after attending the meeting of the National Committee in Chicago where it appeared certain that the party would approve the League of Nations which I considered a movement contrary to the best interests of the United States. In 1926 I returned to the Republican Party, to which most of my family have belonged since its foundation.

A HISTORY OF CATTLE BRANDING IN ARIZONA

By J. J. WAGONER *

BRANDING¹ is as old as civilization, but it was the open range system of grazing which fastened it permanently upon the cattle industry. In Arizona, as elsewhere in the Southwest, the vast public domain was roamed by cattle of many different owners. Identification of stock thus became an important phase of the spring and fall round-ups. In addition to the intermingling of herds, there was another danger which necessitated the use of brands. Two types of rustlers scourged the ranges and often made earmarks and other subsidiary marks necessary also. One kind passed as honest ranchers who, paradoxically, usually had more calves than cows; the other openly stampeded and drove away cattle in typical Indian fashion.² Though cowboys sometimes provided a limited protection against these dishonest cattlemen and thieves, the brand furnished the only proof of ownership when a dispute arose.

With a sudden influx of cattle into the Arizona Territory after the Civil War, brands and earmarks were recorded by the counties. The system which was adopted closely followed Mexican innovations. Each monogram was burned on a piece of tanned leather which was strung on a wire with others at the county courthouse, so that court decisions could be based upon coincidence of the replica with the mark on the animal in question.³ On the back of the cowhide, in script, was information which the county recorder also entered in a book entitled *Marks, Brands and Counter Brands* showing a sketch of the brand and marks, name of

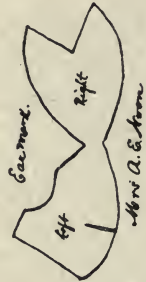
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1. "Brand" is not used inclusively in this paper but refers only to the burned monogram. Earslits, counterbrands, or other marks of identification are treated as distinct.

2. John H. Cady, *Arizona's Yesterday*, p. 107.

3. *Arizona Daily Star*, June 26, 1931. Many of these cowhide pieces can be seen in the Pioneer Historical Society's collection in Tucson.

Brand & Earmarks of the Children of Hongo & Hoon
and the
ear marks of Mrs A. S. Hoon



Filed and Recorded Request of A. S. Hoon
 September 21 + 1895 at 9 am

Cashwell
 County Recorder



Brand & Ear marks of Richard Lingo



Filed and Recorded Request of Richard Lingo Sept 21 1895 at 11 AM

Cashwell
 County Recorder

the owner, the date of recording, and the signature of the recorder.⁴

Many different types of brands were recorded. Most cattlemen preferred a plain, simple brand that could be recognized at a distance. The initial letters of the owner were apparently the most common, though caution had to be exercised in selection because letters, as well as figures, were easily altered—*e.g.*, C K could quickly be changed to O R. Even brands reflecting the Indian and Mexican influence were at first numerous. And the story behind others could be traced to the owner's nativity in Texas or the Indian Territory; the "hashknife" brand in Yavapai County is the most famous of the latter.

Under the county system of recording brands, it was a frequent occurrence for cattlemen to record a brand in one county only to have another man, intentionally or accidentally, adopt the same brand in an adjoining county. Inasmuch as there was nothing to prevent animals from roaming the open range across county lines, the system was a constant source of confusion and litigation.

It is estimated that at least a dozen owners were using each of the following brands: X, F, A, N, Z and J. There were hundreds of cases where two men had the same brand in use in different counties. However, the existence of such a possibility was not so apparent until the late 1880's when heavy shipments of cattle were stimulated by improved railroad facilities. The problem of identifying cattle became more involved as inspectors were confronted with the difficult task of determining ownership.⁵

In January, 1885, a Territorial Stockmen's Association convention at Prescott made several resolutions concerning the inefficient registration of brands. First, it was considered imperative that cattle driven through the territory have a uniform brand. Second, a step toward prohibition of terri-

4. *Marks, Brands and Counter Brands*, ms., Pima County Recorder's office, I (Jan. 23, 1877-June 29, 1896), pp. 1-804; II (July 11, 1896-Feb. 24, 1897), pp. 1-29. Records were also made in similar books from 1866 to Jan. 11, 1877; see *Inventory of the County Archives of Arizona*, No. 10, Pima County, The Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, p. 69.

5. *Biennial Report of the Live Stock Sanitary Board of Arizona, 1897-1898*, p. 5.

torial duplication was taken in a recommendation that there be no two brands alike in a county and a limitation of one brand to an owner. Finally, the stockmen urged the compulsory registration of all brands with the county recorder.⁶

It must not be forgotten, however, that no amount of administrative efficiency could have erased all the problems relating to marking. Altogether different monograms or characters resulted from alterations made by the rustlers. A frequently used scheme was the rebranding of "sleepers." During round-up time the thief would barely burn the owner's brand into the hair of a calf and depart as though the heal flies were after him. Later, at some convenient time, the animal was removed from the home range. A wet blanket (wrung out) was placed over the brand and a red hot frying pan pressed against it; the steam scalded the hair off, and the job was done except for rebranding after the hair grew back in a few months.⁷ The simpler process of roping and branding all unmarked cows, mavericks, with one's own brand also proved profitable to renegade cowboys and audacious cattle barons.

Nevertheless, the livestock laws of the Territory which were approved in 1887 partially met the stockmen's demands. They contained a provision to the effect that every cattle owner must have a mark, brand, and counterbrand different from that of his neighbors, and as far as practicable different from any other in the territory. One weakness of the law was its inapplicability to brands or marks already recorded in accordance with law.⁸ Yet the county system of recording was made compulsory, a two dollar fee being charged for each entry.⁹

The certificate issued was *prima facie* evidence in courts of competent jurisdiction in any action involving the ownership of an animal legally branded.¹⁰ Furthermore, there was a requirement in the law that every person selling cattle not intended for slaughter must counterbrand them on a shoulder or, as an alternative, give a descriptive bill of sale.

6. *Clifton Clarion*, February 18, 1885.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Revised Statutes of Arizona*, 1887, par. 2785, p. 503.

9. *Ibid.*, par. 2787, p. 503.

10. *Ibid.*, par. 2788, p. 503.

Failure to comply with the law meant that the seller could not recover an animal by virtue of his own brand.¹¹

Arizona was one of the last range states and territories to abolish the county system of brand recording. But finally, in 1897, the Live Stock Sanitary Board of three members was empowered to enforce the registration in the *Territorial Brand Book* of all range stock brands for which legal recognition was desired. For each of seven entries on a page, a facsimile of the design or figure was to be depicted along with a diagram denoting the manner of earmarking adopted by the applicant; additional information which was included consisted of the name, residence, and address of the owner plus the date of application, where the brand was to be placed upon the animal, kind or kinds of animals, a general designation of the range whereon such animals were located, and sufficient proof to the Board to verify ownership of the brand and cattle.¹²

Cattlemen who had brands on the county records could pay the county recorder twenty-five cents for a certified copy signed by both the owner and recorder.¹³ Some owners failed to avail themselves within the set time of the right to transfer their old brands, and consequently were compelled to adopt new ones in order to avoid conflict with those previously recorded.¹⁴ To illustrate the unwillingness of stockmen to comply with what they at first considered an iniquitous law, it might be mentioned that by June 15, 1897, only 250 of some 600 brands in the counties had been transferred.¹⁵

Yet many applications for both new and old brands were eventually received. When the Board was satisfied in each case that no similar brand had been recorded theretofore by any other person in the Territory (or state, by the time of 1913 revision of the law) owning range stock, a \$5 fee (now \$10) was accepted and placed in the "license and inspection fund." The process was completed with the issuance of a certificate, provided, of course, that the applicant had made affidavit that he had no knowledge of the existence

11. *Ibid.*, par. 2790, p. 503.

12. *Ibid.*, 1913, par. 3756, p. 1291.

13. *Tempe News*, April 24, 1897.

14. *Biennial Report of the Live Stock Sanitary Board*, 1897-1898, p. 6.

15. *Arizona Weekly Star*, June 24, 1897.

of a similar brand or earmark in the Republic of Mexico.¹⁶ This latter stipulation showed the good faith of the Territory in its attempt to curb the border raids of outlaws similar to those so dramatically popularized in the annals of Tombstone.

The revised 1931 law provided for advertising of new brands in some newspaper, journal, or bulletin at least once;¹⁷ originally, however, a rule of the Board itself required publishing of the application in two consecutive issues of the weekly papers in order to give cattlemen an opportunity to protest when a conflicting iron was presented. The papers used for the purpose were *The Range News* of Willcox, and *The Tucson Post* of Tucson in southern Arizona, as well as *The Coconino Sun* of Flagstaff and *The Weekly Gazette* of Phoenix.¹⁸ After 1931 the *Weekly Market Report and News Letter* contracted to print all the brands applied for. Their fifty dollars per month remuneration saved the Live Stock Board an equal amount since the newspapers had been receiving one hundred dollars. The Treasury Department added another detail to the registration procedure by requiring that a ten cent revenue stamp be placed on each certificate.

The first twenty entries in the *Brand Book* were made on March 14, 1897, by different members of the Cameron family. The information for certificate number one shows that Colin Cameron of Lochiel, Arizona, in the San Rafael Valley of southeastern Pima County, was given legal right to use the 6T brand on the left side of his cattle; the brand had been previously recorded on May 8, 1883, in Pima County.¹⁹ The entry is stamped as having been re-recorded in 1919 when the Live Stock Sanitary Board exercised its prerogative to require re-recording of all entries, thereby eliminating those not in use.²⁰

16. *Revised Statutes of Arizona*, 1913, par. 3757, p. 1291.

17. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Regular Session*, Tenth Legislature of the State of Arizona, 1931, par. 2113, p. 98.

18. *Minutes of the Live Stock Sanitary Board*, October 16, 1902.

19. *Territorial Brand Book of Arizona*, I, p. 1. The original books are filed in the office of the Live Stock Sanitary Board in Phoenix. Also see *Marks, Brands and Counterbrands*, I, op. cit., May 8, 1883, recording.

20. *Revised Statutes of Arizona*, 1913, par. 3757-A, p. 1291.

In general it can be said that the stock law was framed not to confiscate the cattle of honest stockmen, but to stop cattle thieves. Rustlers could be more easily apprehended when all permanent brands were recorded. Accordingly, provisions for the effective enforcement of the act were included. Inspectors were to seize unbranded animals as well as those with mutilated, indistinct, or otherwise disfigured brands; freshly-branded "mavericks" were also subject to confiscation.²¹

Yet the livestock law of 1897, or "bull tick" law as it was commonly called, has been severely criticized, though perhaps unjustly, from two viewpoints. First, it was said that only owners of recorded brands were protected. However, there was a clause in the act to the effect that ownership could be established through the testimony of persons able to identify the animal independent of marks or brands.²² This provision was further strengthened by the stock law of 1903 whereby a legal procedure was established for determining the disposition of strays. Of the first 433 animals for which the right of possession was determined, 289 were condemned and the proceeds from their sale turned over to the "license and inspection" fund; but the other 144 were given to the true owners on presentation of sufficient proof of ownership.²³

But it should be explained that the chairman of the Live Stock Sanitary Board decided to whom the money should be paid. And often he was confronted with evidence presented by many claimants. In fact, numerous persons in the Territory scanned newspaper lists of strays and claimed every animal advertised for which there was a chance of getting the money. The sale of a stray steer at Ft. Huachuca in 1897 serves to illustrate the difficult decisions which faced the chairman. There were at least ten claimants; six of them had the brand recorded by transfer from county records,

21. *Ibid.*, par. 3725, p. 1278. See also *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials*, op. cit., Chap. 48, par. 2106.

22. *Ibid.*, par. 3758, pp. 1291-92. Also see *Webb vs. State*, 131 *Pacific Reporter*, 970-973.

23. *Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of Interior*, 1904, pp. 73-74.

while the remainder had unrecorded brands. Almost every county in the Territory was represented, but after considerable deliberation the money was awarded to a man residing at Huachuca whose brand had not been entered in the Territorial books.²⁴ So actually there was a measure of protection for Arizona owners without recorded brands.

On the other hand, it is true that the stockmen of the rest of the United States and Mexico had no real salvation except to pay the fee. The Secretary of the Live Stock Sanitary Board reported in 1897 that several Utah ranchers near the line were registering their brands.²⁵ Most unfortunate, however, were the New Mexico cattlemen who failed to do so. Many of their cattle were lost to Arizona rustlers who apparently were legally safe in their operations. One man who had just been released from the Yuma prison recorded a brand with the Board, went to Graham County and proceeded to accumulate cattle with that brand which strayed across the line from the neighboring state. By May, 1897, he had gathered approximately 1,100 animals as the nucleus for his ranching enterprise.²⁶ The New Mexico Sanitary Commission was becoming quite provoked, and by March, 1898, threatened to adopt stringent measures to detect cattle thieves of the above nature.²⁷

The second criticism of the 1897 law was that it protected certain brand owners who were not considered entitled to a recording. Opposition was particularly strong against permitting Mexican citizens to acquire certificates. It was argued that since no alien could secure a homestead grant or lease Territorial lands, he should not have Territorial protection in grazing the free public domain.

Many who objected to the statute for any of sundry reasons found means to circumvent it. Certain irresponsible parties, for example, were recording numerous brands for unlawful use. So on October 16, 1902, in accordance with paragraph 3025 of Title XLII, *Revised Statutes of Arizona* for 1901, the Live Stock Board instructed the secretary to

24. *Biennial Report of the Live Stock Sanitary Board*, 1897-1898, p. 7.

25. *Oasis*, June 12, 1897.

26. *Arizona Weekly Star*, May 27, 1897.

27. *Oasis*, March 12, 1898.

require each applicant to file affidavit that he was the "true and sole owner of range animals" for which a brand was desired.²⁸ The following March, however, the requirement was dropped, subsequent applications being referred to the inspector of the district in which the animals ranged.²⁹

Others attempted to flout the act outright, their actions falling under criminal provisions of the law. The use of unlawful or unrecorded brands was deemed a misdemeanor; the stock law of 1931, quite similar in most respects to those which preceded it, set as the punishment a ten to one hundred dollar fine, or ten to thirty days in jail, or both. The same law stated in essence that the obliteration, disfiguration, or changing of a recorded brand by addition of marks, figures, or characters to convert it into another brand constituted a felony; conviction resulted in imprisonment of not less than one nor more than ten years.³⁰

Provisions in the stock laws relative to slaughtering also served to protect honest cattlemen. Before an animal could be slaughtered, it had to be examined by an inspector who recorded a full description of the color and brand. The owner then was required to file the information in the county recorder's office within ten days; there it was kept for six months.³¹ When a rancher killed a beef for home consumption, he had to retain the hide in his possession pending inspection, and no alteration or disfiguration of the brands or marks was permissible.³²

Furthermore, every butcher was required to slaughter at a fixed place to which the inspector had access at all times. By the 1903 law, each butcher was compelled to secure a license costing from thirty to one hundred and fifty dollars, depending on the size of the town; and in order to obtain the license, he must present proof of "good moral character."³³ Thus butchering on the range and the vending of

28. Minutes of the Live Stock Sanitary Board, October 16, 1902; *Revised Statutes of Arizona*, 1901, par. 3025, p. 793.

29. *Minutes of the Live Stock Sanitary Board*, March 18, 1903.

30. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials*, op. cit., par. 2118, p. 102.

31. *Revised Statutes of Arizona*, 1913, par. 3747, p. 1288.

32. *Ibid.*, par. 3745, p. 1288.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 3741, pp. 1286-87; *Messages of Governor George W. P. Hunt to the Secretary of State Allowing Bills to Become Laws without Executive Signature*, March 15, 1927.

meat by irresponsible parties, for the most part, has been effectually checked. But means of evasion were devised, and the courts, having little sympathy for so-called cattle barons, often times sentenced few violators. In 1931, to show the general situation, Mr. Carlos Ronstadt wrote that the Southern Arizona Cattle Growers' Association had secured its first conviction in twenty years. The thief could hardly escape as they saw him rope a calf, kill it, remove the brand, and haul the carcass to Phoenix where it was sold to a butcher.³⁴

For the purpose of securing revenue to enforce the stock laws, the twenty-second legislative assembly passed a new measure including a brand tax of \$2.50 per annum on all range brands and marks that were used in the Territory. Though some 2,414 receipts were issued in the 1903-04 series, the primary importance of the act did not turn out to be the production of revenue. The tax made it possible to determine at all times whether a brand was being lawfully used. Sometimes the Board would remunerate the claimant to a stray only on condition that he pay his delinquent brand tax.³⁵ The profit of the rustler was curtailed because inspectors seized all freshly-branded stock encountered with brands upon which the tax was not paid, and reported the seizure to a court of competent jurisdiction.³⁶

Perhaps the improvement in the brand inspection system can best be understood through a typical example of its earlier operation. In the summer of 1897, sufficient facts were revealed to show that certain unknown parties were stealing large numbers of cattle in Pima County and driving them to the Salt River Valley for sale or shipment. During May some seventy head with several different brands had been seen accidentally in a corral near Casa Grande; the two men in charge represented that they had purchased the cattle from Indians in the Baboquivari Mountains at four to six dollars per head, and were driving them to Tempe for feeding purposes. As two investigators sent by the Pima County Cattle Growers' Association discovered, however, the animals were actually taken to Phoenix and shipped.

34. *Weekly Market Report and News Letter*, February 24, 1931.

35. *Minutes of the Live Stock Sanitary Board*, April 7, 1908; April 6, 1909; July 14, 1909.

36. *Report of the Governor*, op. cit., 1904, p. 74.

Apparently the inspection required at the shipping point was one in name only. The cattle had been vented and re-branded, but the inspector failed to report the original brands so that the former owners might be notified.

In their tour of the Tempe pastures, the representatives of the Pima County organization found a number of cattle which had been stolen by Indians and sold to the ranchers. Seventeen head belonging to Zepedas of El Plomo, Sonora, had been smuggled across the line; later, when the owner identified them and paid the duty, he received the remuneration from their sale but the holders lost the amount paid the Indians. Other cattle which the investigators found in the vicinity belonged to the Arizona Land and Cattle Company (L. Zeckendorf and Company) and the Wakefield Brothers.³⁷ Obviously the livestock inspection had not been thorough before 1903.

In certain other respects the 1903 law was no more effective than the one it replaced. By July of 1908 there had been 11,566 brands recorded in the *Territorial Brand Book of Arizona*.³⁸ With that large a number (though many of these were deficient for failure to pay the brand tax), duplications were unavoidable. The greatest difficulty which faced the Territory, however, involved a reversal of the border situation of a decade before, a condition which no Arizona law could directly arrest. Stockmen of the Territory were now losing cattle to Sonorans who used identical brands. The Boquillas Land and Cattle Company of Cochise County, for example, in 1900 had purchased a brand and a large number of cattle bearing the brand from William Miller and recorded the same in Phoenix as well as in the state of Sonora. But without their consent Marion Williams, residing in Cananea, Sonora, purposely adopted the same brand, though not in violation of the laws of the Republic of Mexico. The Live Stock Sanitary Board protested, but without immediate success.³⁹

By 1931 the number of recorded brands had risen to approximately 13,000. Many were obsolete, making it diffi-

37. *Oasis*, July 10, 1897.

38. *Brands and Marks of Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Hogs* as they appear in the office of the Live Stock Sanitary Board in Phoenix, issue of July 13, 1908.

39. *Minutes of the Live Stock Sanitary Board*, April 8, 1908.

cult to devise new and distinctive brands which would not conflict with those previously accepted. For that reason Governor George W. P. Hunt recommended a clarification of the situation by the elimination of unused brands.⁴⁰ The Tenth Legislature accordingly passed a law providing for a recording every ten years. Each owner was given until December 31, 1931, to make application to the Board for a certificate.⁴¹ The procedure resembled that of the original recording, with the exception that the fee was only two dollars since no advertising was necessary.⁴²

The result of the 1931 and 1941 re-recordings was the elimination of hundreds of defunct brands. The availability of additional emblems was fortunate because today there are again nearly 13,000 registered brands, an increase of about 2,000 in ten years. Stockmen have long realized that a brand is unchallengeable evidence of ownership and, therefore, a trouble saver. But the recent increase is due to the division of ranches among heirs and the adoption of brands by dairy operators and dude ranchers. From time to time a decrease is observed with the consolidation of holdings by purchase or lease. Though many cattlemen retain the brands of absorbed smaller outfits (gubernatorial candidate James Smith of Graham County, for example, now owns twenty-six such brands), most marks of this type are relinquished as a main brand is burned on all offspring.

The brands, once approved, are classified in the *Brand Book* as the square, triangle, diamond, circle bar, cross, heart, Mexican, miscellaneous, or in the various alphabetical and numerical categories. To avoid duplication, almost every possible design has been adopted. The most common is a combination of one of the above symbols with a letter or number. The hearts are still popular, with fifty-five variations on record this year; the old Empire Ranch heart brand is perhaps the most famous.


40. *Message of Governor George W. P. Hunt to the Tenth State Legislature*, January 21, 1931, p. 44.

41. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials*, op. cit., par. 2114, pp. 98-101; *Weekly Market Report and News Letter*, XIX, No. 48 (December 10, 1940).

42. *Arizona Daily Star*, June 26, 1931.

There are also numerous character brands classified as miscellaneous. A few of them are the rocking chair, umbrella, tepee, wagon rod, coffee pot, pitcher, duck decoy, cow's head, horse, violin, anvil, hatchet, hammer, half moon, key, rising sun, hats, flame, and pair of dice. Many of these have some social or geographical significance. The pair-of-dice brand, for example, is used in Paradise Valley. But most of them are only a means of identification; otherwise the two swastika brands on record probably would have been dropped.

Perhaps the difficulty of obtaining a brand sufficiently intricate to prevent rustling and yet fascinatingly ornate can best be illustrated. Recently a stockman, whose initials are L. L. O., made application for a brand consisting of two concentric circles. His request was denied for three reasons: (1) no more "O's" can be obtained, (2) enclosed markings are no longer acceptable, and (3) the "O" brands are objectionable to cattle with "C" identifications because of possible nefarious alteration. His second choice of some combination of two "L's" was also rejected.

After several other suggestions reflecting whimsies incrustated with western lore, the applicant grudgingly permitted the recorder to select his distinguishing coat of arms. He acquiesced to a discarded rafter-lazy-five,  being informed that his registration of that brand would forestall any subsequent record of an A-over-lazy-five. Thus it is readily understandable why strictly sentimental or commemorative brands are not rarely patterned. The only modern irons indicating much individuality are the Mexican and Indian manifestations which actually more nearly resemble the hieroglyphics of the ancients; but there are less than one hundred and fifty in the Arizona book.

In spite of the limited possibilities for capricious designs and the diminishing importance of the brand as a romantic replica of honor, the burning of monograms is permanently established as the only sure method for assuring uncontested ownership of livestock. There will be brands as long as there are ranches.

ALBERT FRANKLIN BANTA: ARIZONA PIONEER

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

(Continued)

All my life I have made animal nature a study; have watched their many sided characteristics; their habits, etc., etc., and have found they have many things in common with the human race. Everyone knows the antelope is one of the most timid of animals, and one of the most wary, yet I have crawled up to one in the open prairie, with hardly a spear of grass between. It is hard and slow work, especially in the hot sunshine; and it is very straining on the eyes, because one's eyes must be kept upon the animal's ears and never for a moment taken off of them. As the antelope cannot see you unless a movement is made, you keep your eyes on the antelope's ears, it standing broadside to you, and the moment it begins to raise its ears, lie quiet. But when the ears begins to droop you crawl slowly forward; this forward movement may not be for more than a few seconds, and as soon as the ears show any movement you stop again. This program must be followed to the end. It is tedious, tiresome work, but can be done only where a solitary antelope is seen, for if there are more than one, some of them have their ears on the alert all the time so it would be impossible of success.

I have stood perfectly still and had gray squirrels run up my legs to my shoulders, but their sharp claws would prick my skin and I would have to flinch, when how they would scurry away to the nearest tree and make a great fuss over so strange a matter. Of course they could not distinguish me from a stump or other inanimate object, and only my movement gave them notice that things were not as they seemed to be. And so it is with all animals and birds. Nine times in ten when the hunter observes a bear coming in his direction the bear does not see him as they do not see very far ahead if the hunter is standing still, and the bear has not been wounded, he will pass him by without notice except it be a smell of the hunter; in this case he will stop and go

thru the same performance above discribed. If the bear be wounded and coming for you, and there are any large trees near, run to the nearest big tree (not to climb it) and stand there until the bear comes pretty close, then step behind the tree. The bear will follow of course, but all you have to do is walk around the tree just behind the bear. It, of course, will tear up the gravel in its wild rush about the tree, but its circuit is so large one can easily walk and use his shooting irons at an advantage. The main thing is to keep cool and not get excited. The most trouble with our valient "bear-hunters" is, when shooting at a bear they are too excited. They aim at the bear's head and hit him in the hind leg. Don't be in too much hurry to shoot, and if the opportunity occurs, aim at the but [base] of the ear, or at the front of the head, and the bear will drop in his tracks. In this connection I will relate a little incident of the Wheeler expedition^{41a} of which I was the guide.

It was in September, 1873, in his explorations west of the 100th meridian. Leaving the outfit to go on to camp on the north side of Black river, I cut across to strike the river above, hoping to kill a deer or turkey for the mess. Reaching the river I followed down and presently saw a small plat of Apache corn on a small bar of the river. Between me and the corn patch was a bunch of brush, but I could see the tops of the corn above, and saw two or three of the corn tops shaking. I knew at once that the shaking was not done by the

41a. While serving as guide for Wheeler, Banta is quoted as follows: "I was always scouting out around whenever the expedition was in camp, and one day I came to the edge of a great saucer-shaped hole in the ground. . . . Upon my return to camp I reported my discovery to Lieutenant Wheeler, who investigated it, and called it Franklin's Hole, by which name it was known for many years, and which it is sometimes called to this day. I was known as Charley Franklin in those days, and Lieutenant Wheeler named it after me." Farish, *Arizona*, 8:31f. This is the Meteor Crater in northern Arizona. It is described in detail by George M. Colvocoresses who also wrote: "Around 1860 the United States Army scouts referred to the Crater as 'Franklin's Hole' and later it was mapped as Coon Butte." "Meteor Crater," *Rocks and Minerals*, 11:113 (The Official Journal of the Rocks and Mineral Association. August, 1936. Whole No. 62). Another description of the Crater, including illustrations, can be found in Joseph A. Munk, *Arizona Sketches*, ch. 11 (The Grafton Press, New York, 1905)

The itinerary of the survey party that Banta guided can be found in George M. Wheeler, *Report upon Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys west of the one hundredth meridian*, 1:59-68 (Washington, 1889). Banta is not mentioned by name in this volume, nor in vol. 3 (Geology), *Ibid.*, but Wheeler did not make a practice of listing the names of camp tenders and guides.

wind and decided at once it was caused by a bear or Apaches gathering corn. Slipping around the brush I came into full view of a large cinnamon she bear with two cubs. Our recognition was mutual and at the same time. She was standing with her head faced towards me and mouth open, full of green corn she had been eating. I stopt suddenly still—this was taking an undue advantage of the animal—and took in the situation at a quick glance. I carried a cut off needle-gun, ⁴² one that had been re-sighted and presented to me by Governor A. P. K. Safford. ⁴³ The bear was so close—not more than fifty feet away—I must make a dead shot, or else my name would be Dennis ⁴⁴ soon thereafter. Dropping to my knee from which I took a rest, I aimed to shoot her in the mouth. At the crack of the gun she settled down between her fore paws. One of the cubs ran in an opposite direction, but the other one ran up to about four feet from me. Paying no attention to the cub, I quickly threw out the empty shell and put in another cartridge, fully expecting the bear to get up and come for me, as it has been my experience in shooting animals that when they drop at crack of gun, unless back is broken or a vital spot hit, they get up again. I walked around the bear so as to get behind her, that in case she was not dead I could again shoot her in the head before she could get at me. With my left hand I caught her hair, which was very long, and attempted to pull her over. As she made some noise I instantly jumped back and brought my gun in position to shoot again. But she never made another move; she was dead as a nit. On examination I found the ball had cut a little from the root of the tongue, tore the lights pretty badly, and had split the heart in two pieces.

Going down to camp I reported the matter, and several

42. See Note 102.

43. Governor Safford served two terms from April 7, 1869, to April 6, 1877. "The town of Safford, founded in 1872, was named for him." Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 177. He arrived in Arizona about the middle of June, 1869. Barney, *Manuscript*, 2:9ff. An essay on the "Little Governor" can be read in Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, ch. 7.

44. I don't know the origin of this expression. It might refer to John Dennis, the playwright, who invented artificial thunder for the stage. When his play was rejected and competitors used artificial thunder, he rose in the audience and exclaimed: "they will not let my play run, and yet they steal my thunder!" Maybe Banta means that if he missed fire, the Bear would steal his "thunder," that is, kill him. See John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*, Eleventh Edition (Boston, 1937)

pack mules were sent up to bring the carcass to camp. She weighed, estimated of course, about 1,000 pounds. It took four pack-animals to carry the carcass to camp. The hide, head and feet were sent to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, and if you go there and care to examine it you will find no bullet hole in that bear hide. However, as I have digressed and perhaps distressed my reader, I will return to my *moutons*,⁴⁵ which I have left somewhere back.

Before we had reached the Coconino caves^{45a} I pushed on ahead of the outfit as I wanted to take a good look at them. Reaching the caves I saw smoke coming out of the volcanic rocks over a considerable extent of the ground. I entered one of the caves and finding a hole leading further back into the mountain, I crawled in on my hands and knees, and seeing a reflected light ahead I crawled towards it; but by this time the opening was so small I was forced to lie flat in order to get in. Finally I had gone as far as was possible and here saw that the light came up thru a fissure about two feet wide. Looking down into the fissure I could see about sixty feet, but could not see from whence came the light, as at that depth there was a bench or set off, and the fire was still further below and out of sight. To get back again I was

45. Revenons à nos moutons: let us return to our subject.

45a. "These Caverns are located south of Highway 66 between Seligman and Peach Springs, Arizona. They are just a short distance from the filling station and houses known as Hyde Park.

"I visited these Caverns ten or twelve years ago at the request of the National Park Service and I submitted a report at that time on the nature of the Caverns. . . .

"Your question about smoke coming from the Caverns in 1870 I am unable to substantiate for I have no information one way or the other concerning this matter. There is nothing in the cave itself which would burn or produce smoke. . . ." Edwin D. McKee (Professor of Geology, University of Arizona) to Reeve, Tucson, December 20, 1951.

Banta may have visited "the Cosnino Caves, which are near Turkey Tanks on the old Beale road between the San Francisco Peaks and the Little Colorado River. . . .

"The Cosnino Caves are really a series of cliff dwellings in the lava rock and the description you have from this Mr. Banta is very exaggerated. An archaeological expedition of the Museum excavated some of the ruins in the caves back about 1932 and we never found anything as extensive as reported by Banta." Harold S. Colton (Museum of Northern Arizona) to Reeve, February 1, 1952.

It is the Cosnino Caves that are described in the Wheeler Survey, 3:63 (see *Note* 41a), narrow and low tunnels did lead into the hills, but there is no mention of smoke or underground fire. Banta's description is so detailed that it is reasonable to believe that he actually had the experience, especially since there is no reason to doubt his honesty on other matters. But in the light of the above sources of information, Banta has certainly left a puzzle to intrigue the reader.

obliged to use my toes to pull myself and my hands to push. Coming out I saw the party approaching and spoke to the Major of what I had seen and asked if he didn't want to investigate. Seeing the smoke coming out of the rocks—not very much—he replied, “No, we are near enough h—I now.”

Without further incident we reached (old) Ft. Wingate sometime in May, where we first heard of the assassination of President Lincoln. In due time we reached Albuquerque where I remained for a time.

In 1865 Sol Barth,⁴⁶ now of St. Johns, Apache county, and Ben Block, long since dead, had the contract to carry the mails from Albuquerque to Prescott, once a month if the Apaches would permit. Charly Washburn and myself started back in the fall with the mail. Arriving at the Zuñi villages, a fierce snowstorm came on and we were obliged to lay over there. That winter there was an epidemic among the Indians and they died off like sheep with the rot. Washburn became frightened and left, saying he had rather take his chances with the Apaches and the cold rather than stay there any longer, and he pulled out.

In December the weather was extremely cold, and one morning I heard a noise in my room. Poking my head out from under the covering I saw an old Indian woman fussing about my fireplace. After a while I got up and going to the

46. Solomon Barth was a prominent citizen of northern Arizona who had experiences not common to all men. He arrived in Arizona as early as 1860; moved to the Prescott region in 1863; located at St. Johns in 1873, first settled the previous year. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:462. He is credited with being the founder of the town. The first families were the bull whackers whom he employed after securing the contract to haul hay and grain to Fort Apache. The first settlers named the place San Juan (St. John) in honor of the wife of Don Marcos Baca. Judge Levi S. Udall, *A Historical Sketch of Apache and Navajo Counties* (Phoenix, Arizona, April 7, 1846. Ms. A speech delivered by Judge Udall on that date) Farish, *Arizona*, 6:276. He killed Charles Davis in a fight on the Little Colorado beyond Camp Apache on July 27, 1873. *Arizona Citizen*, August 9, 1873. He was a member of the 11th Legislative Assembly. See *Acts and Resolutions* for same. He was convicted for fraud in connection with the buying of county warrants and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary. The Court spoke of him as “a man of wealth, power and influence, a merchant of many years . . .” *The Territory of Arizona vs. Sol Barth*, 2 *Arizona Supreme Court* 319-326. He was pardoned by Governor Conrad M. Zulick (1885-1889) after two years imprisonment. Later Barth sued Apache county for the value of the warrants and recovered judgment for \$3,584.93. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:650. I do not know the basis for the successful lawsuit.

Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 218, states that St. Johns was planted by the Mormons at a small Mexican settlement in 1880.

fireplace I found she had cleaned it out almost completely. This made me a bit hot under the collar, but scratching around in the few ashes left I found a speck of fire. This I worked on for some time, and by a patiently blowing it got another fire started. By this time I was almost frozen and went back to bed until the fire should get going good. Pretty soon, however, I heard a sizzling of the fire, and I looked up and saw the same old woman going back into the other room where the family lived. To say I was mad doesn't half express it. Getting up I was preparing to again start another fire when the same old woman came in with a slab of sandstone which they used instead of the boards they did not have, and made signs that I take it into the other room and get some fire. A bright fire was burning there, but in my bad temper I threw the slab upon the stone floor and it broke into many pieces. The old woman laughed and went back to the living room. In a couple of minutes Juan came into my room with a very serious expression on his face. And all at once a wail started in the other room. I asked Juan what was the matter; he spoke some Spanish. He said the women and children were very sorrowful, as the Moon would not rain any and there would not be any corn [for] them to eat if I made any smoke outside. Perceiving it to be a religious matter with the people, I promised to make no smoke out of doors and to leave my pipe inside the house. He then brought in some fire which had been started from the sacred fire and I was satisfied.

The sacred fire, which has been keep burning for all time, is symbolic of the sun from which it came. The new year begins in December at which time all old fires are extinguished, chimneys swept out and a general cleaning up is made.⁴⁷ From the sacred fire a new fire is made for the year. Ten days before the beginning of the new year no smokes are made in the open, as to do so would offend the moon from which the rains come. The first four of the ten days no meat is eaten; to eat meat at such times is sure death.

47. A scholar's account of the Zufi ritual can be found in Ruth L. Bunzel, "Zuni Ritual Poetry," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report*, 47:637 (Washington, 1932); and Bunzel's "Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism," *Ibid.*, p. 535.

Being unaware of the danger of eating meat during the prohibited time, of course I ate my usual allowance of broiled mutton. The little children stared at me in wonder while I ate the meat, no doubt looking to see me topple over dead. The older people gravely shook their heads but said nothing. Strange to relate in two days I was taken down sick, and had the worst spell of sickness any one could have and recover. The nature of my sickness I never knew.

Believing that I was going to have a bad spell of sickness, I decided to try to reach Wingate, about 75 miles distant and beyond the Sierra Madres.⁴⁸ I had my mule saddled and started; had gone about four miles [when] a storm set in, and a strong wind [blew] in my face. At this point I must have lost conscience, for the next moment of conscientiousness I found myself lying in the snow which was about a foot deep, in the village. It seems that when I lost conscientiousness I must have dropt the bridle reins and the mule, having its way, turned back and went to the village. This surely saved my life, for had I continued on would surely have perished. The Indians carried me into the house, and that night I was delirious and imagined myself in a great cavern, the roof and floor were only about a foot apart. At a distance I could hear running water, but at every effort to reach it, I bumped my head against the rock floor or against the roof. Next morning my face was black and blue from bumping my head against the wall of the house.

Feeling that I was surely up against the real thing, I resolved to write a note to the Doctor at Wingate. With back against the wall and a bit of paper I attempted to write, but could not write more than two or three words when I became blind and dizzy. But in time I finished the note and gave it to an Indian to carry to Wingate across the mountains covered with snow in the middle of winter. The Indian started but I never knew when he returned. That day the war chief, Salvador by name, came to the house and asked the people if they were doing anything for me. They said no, as I was sure to die for I had eaten meat on the prohibited

⁴⁸ Properly spelled the Sierra Madre, or main mountain; in this case the Zufi Mountain.

days. The chief shook his head and said he is an American; all Americans eat meat at all times, but if he were a Zuñi of course he would surely die. He then sq[u]atted down and told me to put my arms about his neck, and carried me to his house where I lay in a delirious state for nearly two months. Conscientiousness seemed to return very gradually, and I was half conscience and half delirious for some time.

In the course of time I had fully recovered my mind, but could not speak above a whisper. My eyes were sunken in my head so that I could not see more than the outlines of a man six feet away. My skin was black as a cole [coal]; every bit of flesh had disappeared and I was merely a living skeleton, nothing but skin and bone. After I had gained strength enough to turn my head about, I saw two bottles nearby, one full and the other 3/4 empty. Making signs to the Chief he came close and placed his ear to my mouth; I asked what the bottles were. He said it was the medicine the Doctor had sent from Wingate; that one contained whiskey and as all Americans drunk it he had given me a spoonful every day with the idea, as he said, that if it did no good it would not do any harm. The "whiskey" he gave me was feavor medicine, but smelled a bit like whiskey; the other bottle he had not touched as he did not know how to use it. It was for the stomach. After the feavor had left me and I had been improving for a month, I felt so well that I wanted to get up, but the chief laughed and said, "You cannot stand up." However, I insisted on getting up, and imagined if he only helped me to my feet I could stand. This he did, but as he gradually eased up on me I settled down like a wet rag.

Soon after this the Tah-poop⁴⁹ and all Caciques came to the room and had a big pow-wow among themselves. Finally the Tah-poop who spoke very good Spanish turned about and said to me, "We have been talking about you; you have been sick a long time but are going to get well now, but on condition that you become a Zuñi. The Great Spirit says you

49. Tah-poop is a Zuñi term for governor, and is still so used. In Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Delight Makers*, it is spelled tapop. According to Edmund Ladd, a native of Zuñi, the pronunciation would be more nearly reflected in spelling as follows: Taw-poop-poo.

The Cacique is a spiritual leader of the Pueblo people.

ate meat thru ignorance, but by becoming a Zuñi and complying with our rules and rites you will recover. Can you do this?" Of course I answered affirmatively. He then said, "Your Zuñi name is now Too-loosh-too-loo." After all had shaken hands with me they filed out of the room. Sometime after this some of my Apache friends—Chief Escapah and ten or twelve of his men—came along and hearing I was in the village they came to see me. I told the Chief if he and his people would help me on and off my mule I would go in to Wingate with them. But before leaving, the Zuñis held a council with the Apaches at which the Apaches were told that I was a Zuñi, and if any harm came to me, the Zuñis would hold them responsible, and that not one of them would return home alive. The Apache Chief said in reply that I was his friend and brother and they need not fear on that account.

In a day or two we started for (old) Fort Wingate, the Chief riding on one side and one of his men riding on the other side to keep me from falling off the mule. At night I slept between two of them that I might not freeze to death, being only skin and bones. In due time we reached Wingate, and I entered the U. S. Hospital where I remained a month. Of course I had a ravenous appetite which the Doctor thought it well not to gratify. At the end of the month I asked to be let out and went to the Rio Grande along with Don Santiago Hubble.⁵⁰ The judge wanted me to stay at his house until I fully recovered, but I would not stop longer than three or four days, and then went up to Albuquerque. At this time I could walk a little with the aid of a cane, and it was eight more months before I regained my usual strength.

For a short time I worked for the government at the Bosque de los Pinos; from there to Ft. Union; thence to Fort Sumner at the Bosque Redondo, the Navajo reservation.

50. Don Santiago Hubbell was James L. Hubbell, pioneer New Mexican merchant. A sketch of the family history can be found in the biographical account of a son, Frank A. Hubbell, in Charles F. Coan, *History of New Mexico*, 2:44-46 (The American Historical Society, Inc., Chicago and New York, 1925) A mention of his trading activity in Arizona in 1857 credits Don Santiago with hauling freight from the Heintzelman mine in Arizona to the steamboat landing at Kansas City. Farish, *Arizona*, I:288. He served in the 17th Legislative Assembly as a member of the Council from Apache county. Kelly, *Arizona*.

Colonel Oscar M. Brown⁵¹ had the Post Trader's store at this post and I worked for him that summer. In the fall, Jim Porter and self left the Fort on a hunting and trapping expedition into the White mountains and the Captain [or El Capitan] mountain. We put in the fall and winter trapping for beaver on the Rio Bonito, Ruidoso, Hondo and the Pecos. The Mescalero Apaches of that country were no friends of mine. Porter and I had more or less trouble with the red devils. Being well armed with Hawkins rifles we did not fear them to any extent. At this time there was no settlements on the Hondo, and but a few white settlers near the Pecos at the mouth of the Hondo called the "Missouri settlement." The present city of Roswell is now somewhere in that neighborhood, I am told. Returning to Fort Sumner I went on up to Santa Fe sometime in the latter part of March.

After blowing in at Santa Fe I struck Mr. Ritter, the corral boss, for a job to work for the government. He said there was no room for me, that he was full just then. The next day I tried again with the same result. The third day he said I have no place for you, but if you want work so badly go into the back corral and chop wood into stove lengths. I chopped as hard as I could and pretty soon both hands were solid blisters and I had to hold the axe handle with the ends of my fingers. Just then Ritter came out and looked at me for a minute and said, "What's the matter." I showed him my hands and he said you go up to the Colonel's office and report to him. Of course I supposed I was fired and went to Colonel M. I. Ludington's⁵² office; he was chief quartermaster of the department. The colonel says what have you been doing. I showed him my hands and he wanted to know how they came to be in that condition. I said trying to chop wood, but with very indifferent success. He said there is some printing material stored away in the Q. M. building. I want you to get it out and put up the office in the adjoining room, and if you can find any soldiers in the companies here,

51. An Oscar M. Brown was elected District Attorney for the new county of Gila on the first Monday in April, 1881. Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 101.

52. Marshall Independence Ludington enlisted as a Captain of Volunteers from Pennsylvania, October 20, 1862. He retired, April 13, 1903, with the rank of Major General. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

get their names and I will have them detailed to help you; your pay will be \$100 per month and rations. I was getting thirty in the corral. Here I worked for sometime, and in the meantime the telegraph had reached Santa Fe. Manderfield & Tucker were publishing the *New Mexican*, and with the advent of the telegraph they wanted to make a "daily" of their paper. But being short of "sorts"^{52a} they came to me and borrowed enough to get out the first issue of the "*Daily New Mexican*."

I now made up my mind to return to the Zuñi villages; with my money I bought burros and some Indian goods and went back to my people. Of course I was careful not to eat meat, nor make smokes out of doors, during the prohibited times; and of course was sick no more.

The word "Zuñi" is not an Indian name. I think the name originated in this manner: When the Spaniards first visited the villages they noticed that many of them [the people] wore their finger nails quite long. This is a sign of ari[s]tocracy among them as it is among many eastern peoples. The Spaniards not being able to speak their language, and in order to designate them from other tribes, they naturally called them the "Unis" [uña], this word being finger nails in the Spanish language. In some manner it has been changed into "Zuñi. Uñis—Zuñis—Zuñi—Uñi."⁵³

The Zuñis are descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.⁵⁴ Why! Like the Jews, the tribe is divided into twelve gens; like the Jews, marriages are always between different gens; like the Jews, they have an ark before which they blow long reads as they march and dance before the ark on stated occasions as was done in the time of David. Like the Jews, each gens has its totem, and these totems are identical with those of the ancient Jews. They also have their

52a. In printing, the word means "any character or type considered as a separate element in a font;—usually in *pl.*"

53. This explanation is a testimonial to Banta's intellectual curiosity, but a more authoritative explanation is as follows: Zuñi is the common name, adapted by the Spanish from the Keresan language word Sünyitsi or Sünyitsa, of unknown meaning. Their own tribal name is A-shiwi, "the flesh." F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Washington, 1910)

54. This statement is not acceptable historically, but follows the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, *Book of Mormon*.

days of fasting and of purification, as did the Jews. Also their feast days are similar. Besides other similarities which go to prove to my mind that they are surely the descendants of the ten lost tribes.

In the matter of the white Indians seen among them, is acontable upon only one hypothesis; that they are the descendants of a Jesuit priest. The Zuñis claim the white ones are Zuñis, and that they have always been there, but no intermarriage is permitted between the white Zuñis and the dark skinned ones. As a result of this, all the whites are more or less afflicted. Some have reddish eyes; all have cataract of the eyes, etc., etc.; all these infirmities are hereditary. Their tradition of Coronado's visit is to the effect that when the Spaniards came one called upon the priest and tried to persuade the priest to leave there with him; this the priest refused to do, saying he would live and die there; they were his people, and to all intents the priest was as much of an Indian as any of them. They are the descendants of this man beyond doubt.⁵⁵

It is now conceded that the Jews' story of the Flood was obtained from the Assyrians during the Babylonian captivity; also their idea of a personal God. Prior to that captivity the Jews had a plurality of Gods whom they worshiped. The Phallic and Serpent worship were the most ancient among them; the brazen serpents set up in the desert by Moses were simply emblematical of the serpent worship. Before the captivity the Jews "wailed" before the dead walls of Jerusalem, with no conception of a God. The Zuñis also "wail" as did the ancient Jews; I remember one time on returning from Santa Fe, where I had gone to purchase a few goods for trade, I had no sooner returned to the village when suddenly a "wailing" started all over the village. Asking the cause of the monotonous wailing I was answered by the question, "Is it true the sun is going to die?" I replied, "Of course not, what gave you such a notion?" They said an American had been there while I was gone and said that on a certain day the sun

55. These people were not truly of white descent, but were an albino Indian. Banta is wrong on his historical guess. In 1879 there were seven Albinos at Zuñi. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report*, 23:383 (Washington, 1904)

would die, and if it did all would die as the sun is the Father of all life. It struck me the American had reference to an eclipse; looking at an old almanac I saw that an eclipse of the sun was due in August, a few days hence. I explained the matter to them by illustration of just how it would be and the result; that if cloudy, it would hardly be noticed at all. Immediately one of the men rushed out and reaching the top of the highest house announced to the people what I had said, the wailing as suddenly ceased as it had begun. My word with those people was infallible; I never deceived nor lied to them at any time.

The Zuñis have a feast or ceremony of the unleavened bread. Like the Jews, their government is a theocracy; they also claim to be a "chosen people" and all their religious rites are for the benefit of the whole world. In other words, they are as conceited in this respect as were the ancient Jews. Like the Jews, they have a plurality of gods, but the Sun-god is supreme over all; they are not fire-worshippers, nor do I think there is or ever were fire worshippers, but all, like the Zuñis, regard the fire as symbolical of the sun, being derived from the sun as they believe. At every meal the head of the family—if a man be present—if not, the mother of the house—before beginning the meal, takes a bit of the food and holding it to his lips says a prayer to the Sun-god; then casts the bit of food into the fire as an offering. No one who has been wounded in battle or otherwise is permitted to touch a newborn child, nor until that child has been weaned. Also, days of purification for both men and women, for man who has killed another in battle. All in all, after a careful study of the Bible and Josephus, I am convinced the Zuñis are of the ancient Jewish stock. They have meal which has been sanctified, and every man on leaving the village carries some of this meal in a small pouch at his girdle, and at every living water he comes to, before taking a drink, he sprinkles a bit of the meal over the water, and at the same time saying a prayer to the god of waters.

For centuries these people were on the defensive against hostile tribes—coyotes, they call them—and in my time with them we had much trouble with the Navajos. A tradition

of the Zuñis says that more than two hundred years ago they were attacked by a large body of Apaches, but at night the Apaches withdrew a short distance from the walls. One morning the priest, as was his custom, was walking along the edge of the wall and was shot dead by an Apache who had hidden behind a rock near the wall. The dead priest fell off and that night the Apaches carried the body to their camp. Having stript the body of clothing, to their great astonishment the body was white something unkown and unheard of by them. Being superstitious and curiosity so great to find out the meaning of the white skin, the Apaches proposed a council of peace which was excepted by the Zuñis. The Zuñis took advantage of the situation and told the Apaches the white skin was a superior being, that he would live again, and much more to the same effect. The Apaches then proposed a lasting peace; as the white skin was to live again they desired to see him. This peace pact has remained inviolate up to the present day. In corroboration of this tradition I cite Spanish history which says: "En 1672 se declararon en guerra los Apaches, invadiendo el pais, y Aguias, pueblo de los Zunis, donde fue asesinado por ellos, en Octubre 7 de 1672, fray Pedro de Ayala. . . ." ⁵⁶

The Zuñis desired to make me their war chief—Captain de la Guerra, [war]—but I declined that honor; nevertheless, I went with them against the thieving Navajos on several occasions. The Little Colorado river has always been "neutral ground," where hostile tribes met to trade; of course it was always an "armed neutrality." One time the Apaches had signaled from the summit of the Mogollons there [their] intention to meet the Zuñis on the river to trade. Quite a large party of us went down there to meet them. Our party camped on the north side of the river and the Apaches on the south side. Nevertheless and notwithstanding the "peace treaty," we were armed and ready for any emergency. One day I had gone some distance from

56. I have not been able to locate the source of this quotation, but the substance of it is historically correct. The Apache did raid Zuñi pueblo and kill Fr. Pedro de Avila y Ayala, October 7, 1672. F. W. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh, New Mexico: one of the so-called cities of Cibola*, p. 99 (Los Angeles, 1937) L. B. Bloom and L. B. Mitchell, "Chapter Elections," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 13:87, 115.

camp, but hearing a fusilade of guns, I rushed back to camp with all speed; here I found everything quiet. I asked what the shooting was about; and one of the Indians, pointing his finger at the fire, said we were shooting rats for supper. I looked, and there lay [a] half dozen rats roasting in the fire. I can't say that I like rat meat; it has a sweetish taste that I did not relish. Grasshoppers however, when cooked, are pretty good eating. To cook the grasshopper, it is put into an earthen pot and cooked like you would parching corn; add a little salt and they tast like old fashioned cracklings our mothers used to make.

The Zuñis were the best people in the world; they were honest and truthful, and were the most hospitable people living. No matter what house you may enter, nor how many during the day, you are politely asked to "eemoo" (take a seat), and the woman immediately sets before you something to eat with a request—"ee-tow" or "ee-tow-now-way" (please to eat), and this is done to anyone entering a house. It is a religious rite with them, and you are expected to take at least a bite, if no more, after which you may say, "ellah-quah" (thank you). But I suppose that now since the missionaries, schools, whiskey and debauchery has been introduced among them, they no doubt have become, like all other Indians among whom the white man has introduced his civilization and its crimes, they have degenerated into liars, thieves, and the women into something worse. This accursed so-called civilization has been the curse of all our Indian tribes. How great the change in the status of the Indian has taken place since the Then and the Now!^{56a}

July 12, 1869, C. E. Cooley⁵⁷ and Henry Wood Dodd came over to the villages from (new) Fort Wingate, in-

56a. Banta was unduly alarmed about the Zuñi; they are still an estimable people, and are not debauched.

57. Both C. E. Cooley and Henry Wood Dodd served as guides and scouts for the army. They are credited with creating the name of Showlow for the present town of that name in Arizona. Playing the card game of *seven-up* for possession of the ranch site, Cooley won by *showing* a three spot which was *low*, hence the name Showlow. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:461, 464, 506. Udall, *Historical Sketch*.

The story of the Doc Thorn mine is quoted in Farish, *Arizona*, 8:33-74. Farish does not indicate that the source of his story is the *St. John's Observer*. Farish states that the party did not carry out their intentions because they feared to cross the territory of the Pinal Apache.

tending to go into the *Apacheria* to look for the Doc Thorn gold story. Finding me at the villages, also a bunch of my Apache friends, they insisted on me going along with them. Their reason was that I was on friendly terms with the Apaches. I went with them along with the Apaches then in the village. Of this trip I have already written up in my paper, *The St. John's Observer* and [it] can be seen in the files of that paper. At the end of this trip I reached the ranch of my old friend, Captain Jack Swilling⁵⁸ in the Salt River Valley, in August '69. I remained here with Jack; Cooley and Dodd going on to Prescott. The following September I traded for a bronco horse, and leaving my other animals with Jack, I mounted the vicious bronco and run him all the way to Wickenburg⁵⁹ without a stop.

At this time I wore a full buckskin suit with a fockskin [foxskin] cap with the tail hanging. Of course I was a fool-sight to see, but at that time did not realize what an ass I was or how ridiculous I looked. Dashing through the one street of Wickenburg, my foxtail sailing out behind, people ran out and yelled, "Here he comes, cap and all." For this I was dubbed "Buckskin Charly" and carried that nick-name for some time.⁶⁰

A. H. Peeples⁶¹ was the Justice of the Peace at Wicken-

58. John W. Swilling, known to old timers as Jack Swilling, joined the Confederate forces with the rank of Lieutenant when they invaded Arizona. He participated in the Walker mining party which pioneered the Prescott region in 1863. In late 1867 he located a ranch on the site of present-day Phoenix and started an irrigation system. Banta knew him well and visited with Swilling at his Salt river home. In 1878 he was sent to the penitentiary for stage robbery and died there on August 12 before he came to trial. Barney, *Manuscript*, 1:1-17; 2:99ff; 3:1-16. Swilling's own statement while in prison is quoted in Farish, *Arizona*, 2:251ff. In the biographical sketch he is considered not guilty. *Ibid.* His Civil War record is in Orton, *Records*, and see *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts*.

59. The distance from Phoenix to Wickenburg in the days of this exploit is given at 60 miles in Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona as it Is; or, The coming country*, p. 256 (Hurd and Houghton, New York, 1877) Colonel Hodge prepared this publication from notes taken during his travels through Arizona, 1874-1876. Banta's ride was possible. For the endurance of horses see Frazier Hunt and Robert Hunt, *Horses and Heroes* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York and London, 1949)

60. This story appears in Farish: "Being always ready for an emergency, every watchful and alert, the Apaches named me Bah-dah-cleshy, the Gray Fox, and I was pretty well known to many of the old-timers as 'Buckskin Charlie.'" Farish, *Arizona*, 8:37.

61. This pioneer has left his name on the geography of Arizona. His ranch site was in present-day Peeples' valley, north of Phoenix. A. H. Peeples organized a party of miners in California and arrived in the Prescott area in May, 1863, follow-

burg, and he appointed me his Constable. One Sunday morning, hearing several shots fired, Peeples and I went to the front door of his saloon and saw a man named Bennit with two six-shooters, one in each hand, firing promiscuously up and down the street. Two days before two Chinamen had come to town and started a "lestelant" in opposition to Bennet who had a monopoly on that business up to date, and he was for running the Chinamen out of town, even if he had to kill 'em off. Peeples ordered me to arrest Bennit. I went out into the street facing the man and started towards him. He fired two or three shots in my direction, but I continued to advance towards him, and at the same time ordered Bennit to throw up his hands, which he did. I took the irons out of his hands and marched him to the saloon. It was Sunday, the Justice could not act, so he ordered me to confine Bennit in a little old rock cabin back of the saloon.

Bennit was drinking heavily which no doubt caused him to get on the rampage. I put him in the cabin and fastened the door as securely as possible, and told Bennit to stay there and sober up. I then returned to the saloon and while reporting to the Justice I looked around and there stood Bennit. I bawled him out for not staying in the lockup, [and said,] "You shall sit here in a chair all night, d—n you." He sat down, but by this time had begun to sober up a little, and to realize what a fool he had made of himself. After awhile Bennit said he had some little property that he wanted to sell before he was taken to Prescott jail, that he had an offer for it, and if I would allow him to go for an hour he could sell and return to me. Pledging his word to return I allowed him to go.

Two or three hours afterwards, Peeples missed the prisoner and asked me what had become of Bennit. I said he gave me his word to return in an hour, but he has been gone about three. Peeples assumed a very severe look and said, "Do you take that sort of security from a prisoner?" I said,

ing closely on the Walker party. They found gold at Rich Hill. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:339. Rich Hill yielded an estimated one-quarter million dollars the first month of mining, and thousands more subsequently. Farish, *Arizona*, 2:248. In the election of 1870, the polling place in Wickenburg was "at Peeples' Saloon. This refreshment emporium was known as the 'Magnolia Brewery and Saloon' and was started in the early part of the year 1868." Barney, *Manuscript*, 2:23.

"He gave his word," and at that time I thought a man's word was good. The Justice laughed at me and said, "Don't take any more of that sort of security hereafter." Nor did I; yet it seemed to me that a man's word had ought to be good.

Soon after this I quit the constable business. Bob Groom, George Monroe, Aaron Barnet and others had a silver mine near the White Picacho.⁶² They made up a party to go out to the mine and Bob asked me to go along and look out for Apaches. We were out there a week or ten days; on the return trip to Wickenburg I killed a large buck and took the carcass to the restaurant. Billy McCloud was in town broke and he proposed we hunt for the market. The Apaches at this time were very bad and no beef could be brought in. We had an arrangement with the Superintendent of the Vulcher [Vulture] Mill—a mile above town—to take three carcasses every time we came to town at 13 cents per pound; in town we received 20 cents. Mc and I put in the winter at the business. Of course we had numerous scraps with the Apaches, but being armed with breech-loading rifles, the Apaches gave us a wide birth most of the time. One day we struck a big trail made by mules which we followed for quite a distance, but all the mules we found were dead ones. The Apaches killed all mules that could not go. Returning to town we found that the Apaches had jumped the train of Ariola,⁶³ midway between the town and the Vulcher mine, and killed a few of the drivers and run off every mule in the train. It was these mules we were following.

In the spring I went over to Prescott and was immediately employed by the military as a guide and scout for the government at headquarters. Ed G. Peck⁶⁴ and myself were the two headquarters guides and scouts. At this time Gen-

62. The "White Picacho, a noted landmark" in the Bradshaw mountains, about 65 miles from Phoenix. Colonel Jacob Snively was killed nearby by Indians, March 27, 1871, lead by their Chief, Big Rump. His remains were later removed by Jack Swilling and reentered at Gillett, where Jack Swilling resided, in 1879. *Barney Manuscript*, 1:47f.

63. Espirito Arriola was a contractor hauling ore from the Vulture mine to the company's mills on Hassayampa, a short distance above Wickenburg. The train was attacked by Indians, September 8, 1869. Four men lost their lives and about sixty mules were taken by Indians. *Ibid.*, 1:55.

64. The portrait and biographical sketch of Peck can be found in Farish, *Arizona*, 2:262-64. "Could the history of his life in Arizona be written in detail, it would be as romantic and interesting as that of Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett and other early pioneers in our country." *Ibid.*

eral Frank Wheaton ⁶⁵ commanded the Northern District of Arizona, and General Thos. E. Devin ⁶⁶ the Southern District; headquarters at Camp McDowell ⁶⁷ on the Verde river. The 8th Cavalry was then doing duty in Arizona; also the 12th Infantry.

About this time an order came for the 8th to exchange stations with the 3d Cavalry then doing duty in New Mexico. General Alexander ⁶⁸ had command of that portion of the 8th stationed [in] Northern Arizona and Devin the other part of the regiment.

Col. C. C. Bean ⁶⁹ had the transportation contract at four cents per pound in gold for each one hundred miles. At this rate it was about fifteen cents for the whole distance, and amounted to something over \$28,000.

The 8th Cavalry, commanded by General Alexander, left Fort Whipple in April, 1870. I was ordered to accompany the outfit as guide. Having reached the pine timber at Bear springs a snowstorm come on which detained us there for three days. In the meantime, the 3d Cavalry came in and camped alongside of our command. Early on the second day of our detension in this camp General E. O. C. Ord ⁷⁰, com-

65. General Frank Wheaton, from Rhode Island, became a 1st Lieutenant in the 1st Cavalry, March 3, 1855. He rose to high rank and retired from service, May 8, 1897. Heitman, *Register*.

66. General Devin assumed command in 1868. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:436. Thomas Casimer Devin, from New York, participated in the Civil War as Captain, 1st New York Cavalry, July 19, 1861. He remained in the service after the war and died April 4, 1878. Heitman, *Register*.

67. Camp McDowell was established by five companies of California Volunteers in September, 1865. It was located about eight miles above the junction of the Verde and Salt rivers on the west bank of the former, and named in honor of General Irvin McDowell, a graduate of West Point in 1834, who saw service in the Mexican and Civil wars. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:440; Hodge, *Arizona*, p. 216; and Heitman, *Register*.

68. Andrew Jonathan Alexander enlisted as a volunteer with the rank of 1st Lieut. in Missouri at the outbreak of the Civil War. He was Major in the 8th Cavalry, July 28, 1866. His rank as General was apparently acquired as a volunteer during the war. Death occurred May 4, 1887. Heitman, *Register*. He is credited with pioneer work in promoting schools for the Apache Indians in Arizona. Farish, *Arizona*, 7:238.

69. C. C. Bean was a member of the Council from Yavapai county in the 10th Legislative Assembly. See *Acts and Resolutions* of same. He was a Delegate to Congress in 1884. 13th Legislative Assembly, *Laws* (San Francisco, 1885)

70. Edward Otho Cresap Ord graduated from West Point in 1839. He retired with the rank of Major General, January 28, 1881, and died July 22, 1883. Heitman, *Register*. He succeeded to the command of the Department of California (which included Arizona) in June, 1869. His report on Arizona is published in Farish, *Arizona*, 8:79-91. Arizona was set aside as a separate military department, April 15, 1870. Ord's activities in this period are detailed in Ogle's study, *Note 4*.

manding the Department of the Pacific, having made his tour of inspection of the military posts in the southern section of the Territory, was returning via Camp Mogollon⁷¹ and Whipple to his headquarters at Angel Island, came into our camp and after an inspection of both commands continued on to Whipple. His escort consisted of a troop of cavalry commanded by Lieutenant Frank K. Upham.⁷² Dr. John C. Handy⁷³ also accompanied Upham's outfit.

General Alexander was one of the very best raconteurs I ever met anywhere. At the mess the General, of course, took the head of the table. I sat at the foot and the Doctor on his right and Lieutenant Curtis⁷⁴ on his left. At the beginning of every meal the General began a story and so timed its telling as to reach the climax at the moment he arose from the table; the General's arising was the signal for all of us, and as the pith of the story was always at its close, we arose with a laugh. He possessed a fund of these stories for he never told the same story twice, and never ate a meal without telling a story.

On the trip I occupied same tent with the General; the weather was very cold. I had a small single mattress and two pairs of the heaviest California Mission blankets. The General's bedding was light, consisting of a military iron bed, one single soldier blanket and his overcoat. As I did not use but one pair of my blankets I offered the other pair to the General, but he refused to accept them as he said I "might sleep cold." During the whole trip I never once knew

71. The site for Camp Mogollon was selected by Major John Green near the junction of two branches of the White river. It was occupied in May, 1870, and named Camp Ord in honor of the departmental commander. The name was changed to Camp Mogollon, Camp Thomas, and Camp Apache. On April 5, 1879, it was named Fort Apache. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:438. Camp Mogollon was an earlier name for the military site later called Fort Apache. Heitman, *Register*.

72. Lieutenant Frank Kidder Upham, born in Maine, enlisted in California as 2 Lieut., 7th California Infantry, November 1, 1864. He reenlisted after the Civil War, retired on February 4, 1892, and met death by accident seven years later. Heitman, *Register*.

73. Dr. J. C. Handy and Co. was the owner of a mine in the Cerro Blanco. Hodge, *Arizona*, p. 132. He was contract surgeon at Camp Thomas where he killed a man named Hughey, who was the post sutler, in 1870. *Weekly Arizona Miner*, December 10, 1870. Governor Conrad M. Zulick appointed him to the position of Chancellor of the University of Arizona in 1887. Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 124.

74. Ambrose B. Curtiss enlisted as a corporal in the 4th Michigan Infantry, June 20, 1861. He had risen to 1st Lieut., 8th Cavalry, by October 3, 1869, and was discharged from the service, October 13, 1870. Heitman, *Register*.

when the General retired at night nor when he arose. He was always up at the first call of reveille, and saw that all officers were up too, and that the commanding officer of each company was up to receive the report of the First Sergeant—no taking turns by the company officers to receive reports. He was gentlemanly, courteous, and a nobleman in every respect. He went thru the Civil War and as we rode along side by side, he gave many interesting incidents of that great war.

My salary at this time was \$125 per month, but of course I saved up nothing; always broke at end of month. Before leaving Fort Whipple, Colonel C. C. Bean made an arrangement with me to bring back to Prescott the \$28,000. He purchased the Hardy horse, the one most celebrated horse in the country, paying \$400 in gold for him; also a saddle, \$80, and bridle and saddle-bags, in all costing \$500 in gold with paper at a discount. I was allowed ten days to make the return trip and for which I was to receive \$500, or \$50 per day. In order to save the Hardy horse for the long hard ride, I led him behind one of the wagons to Wingate, riding my own horse that far. Reaching Wingate in due time the "dough" was put up in a package and sealed, placed in my saddle-bags by the Quartermaster of the Post. For the return trip I bought one pound of crackers, two small tins of sardines and one pound tin of pears. Leaving Wingate, leading my own horse, I crossed to the Sierra Madres to the Zuñi villages, as I desired to leave my horse with some of my people there. Here I stopped for the night, being my first day out of Wingate. The next day I made the Little Colorado at Horse Head crossing which is about a mile above the present town of Holbrook in Navajo county. At this time—May 1870—there was not a settlement or a single soul to be met with from the time I left Zuñi until I reached Bob Postle's⁷⁵ ranch in Chino valley—twenty-five miles east of Prescott.

Near Horse Head I lay down on my saddle-blanket in the dead cottonwood brush. On such trips, and I have made

75. Fort Whipple was first located at Postal's [Postle] ranch, 24 miles north-east of Prescott, December 23, 1863. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 248. See Note 2.

many, I usually awoken about every twenty minutes during the night. Sometime before daybreak I awoke as usual and found my horse missing. Jumping up I listened but heard nothing, and lay down again to await daylight. Soon as it was light enough to see, I was up and examined the ground, and saw the horse had not been stolen by Indians, but had simply pulled loose. Leaving my saddle where I had slept, I carried the saddle-bags some distance away and hid them. Here I was more than an hundred miles either way from a living soul excepting Navajos on one side and Apaches on the other. The horse had gone out to the road and started on the back track, which I followed for about six miles, but as he had a long stride and was a fast walker, I gave up the pursuit and returned to the Little Colorado river.

I carried a cavalry carbine and reaching the river went down the bank for a drink. Seeing three ducks flying down the stream, at about one hundred and fifty yards away, I fired and shot one's head off; it fell in the river below me. Pulling off my boots I waded in and secured the dead duck. Climbing up the bank of the river I saw dust about a mile below and thinking it might be caused by Indians I hid in some thick brush close to the road, determined to have a horse—if not too many Indians. Finally I saw two horsemen approaching, but they proved to be—not Reds—[but] Lieutenant Walls⁷⁶ and his guide, Joe Jerrel. The wagon and escort were a short distance in the rear. Of course, seeing no chance to get a horse in the manner I had intended, I came out of the brush. The Lieutenant was the regimental quartermaster of the 8th, and had been left back at Whipple to finish up some Q. M. business. Of course I was surprised to see the Lieutenant, as I was not aware that he had been left back at Whipple. Seeing the dead duck the Lieutenant said, "I see you have a duck; how did you kill it. With a carbine?" I said, "Yes, it was flying at about two hundred yards distant and I shot its head off." "Very remarkable

76. This officer may have been Daniel Tyler Wells who rose to a captaincy during the Civil War, reenlisted as 1st Lieut. February 13, 1866. Heitman, *Register*. A Lieutenant Wells is mentioned in an account of military activities printed in the *Prescott Miner*, March 6, 1869, as quoted in Farish, *Arizona*, 8:23f. I have no information on Joe Jerrel.

shot," says the Lieutenant. "Can you do that often?" I replied that it was nothing to do if one knows how to do it. To be sure I could not do the same thing again, perhaps in a thousand times, but [I] never let on that it was the merest accident. The wagon and escort coming up we made camp for breakfast. After breakfast the Lieutenant asked about my horse and learning it was the Hardy horse said it would be a pity to loose so fine an animal. He then gave orders to the Sergeant to dismount one of the men, and to turn the soldier's horse over to me, and tell the dismounted man to ride in the wagon.

At this point Wells proposed to push on to Wingate with a part of the escort, leaving the Sergeant with balance and the wagon, and to follow the next day. With the soldier's horse I rode with Wells back as far as the Lithodendron wash. It was now dark, we had travelled about twenty miles from the Colorado. Crossing the wash to the high ground upon the opposite side I had a "hunch" the horse had not gone that way and requested the Lieutenant to call a halt that I might examine the ground and be certain of the fact. Dismounting I lit matches and examined the road, and as surmised the horse had not gone that way. Wells asked what I was going to do now. I answered that I would camp there and take his trail in the morning. All right, he says, when you find your horse, if in time to meet the Sergeant at this place—the Lithodendron—turn over the cavalry horse to the Sergeant; if not, then ride the cavalry horse to Whipple and turn it over to Colonel Foster, the Chief Quartermaster, and explain the matter and it will be all right.

This I promised to do, and bidding the Lieutenant good-night he pushed on for Wingate, making a night ride of it. The next morning early I struck my horse's track and followed it perhaps twenty miles, when I came up to him standing on the prairie sleeping. Changing horses I started for the crossing of the Lithodendron, and reached it just as the Sergeant was going into camp there. I did not stop here, but turning the soldier's horse over to the Sergeant with a request that he give my compliments to Lieutenant Wells,

I rode back to where I had hidden my saddle-bags. Here I again camped for the night. This was my third day out from Wingate. The next day I hit the road in good shape, camping for the night a few miles east of the present city of Flagstaff, it being my fourth day, including the day lost on account of my horse.

I arrived at this point sometime in the night, sore and stiff, and my legs bloody from the day's hard ride. To dismount I was obliged to put my arms about the neck of the horse and then let my body fall off; at the same time swinging to the horse's neck until the blood had again started to circulate in my legs. He was a very tall horse and my feet merely rested upon the ground. From this place I made Postle's ranch in Chino valley, evening of the fifth day. Here I left one can of sardines which I had not used; the other can I ate at Antelope Springs near to where Flagstaff now stands. The following day at eleven o'clock I reached Prescott, making the last twenty-five miles in three hours. Suffice to say, the Hardy horse came in without a mark on his back, and in fine shape although he had no feed but the short dry dead grass found on the way. This ride has been written up by Captain Hardy,⁷⁷ in which he calls it "a celebrated ride," and is now among the archives of the Territory—State.

I now took a layoff to rest up—had too much anyway to work. I will say here that of course there were many persons in Prescott and a few at the Post that told Colonel Bean he would never again see his horse or the money; that there was nothing to prevent me going on east or elsewhere, after I had reached New Mexico; there was no mails nor telegraphs or any other means of communication between Prescott and New Mexico. To all such p[e]simistic talk the Colonel turned a deaf ear, saying, "If I am deceived, which I doubt, you people loose nothing." The Colonel told me all this after I returned and then some. To tell the truth I

77. Captain William H. Hardy located at Hardyville, named for himself, on the Colorado river, nine miles above Fort Mohave. He owned the ferry, a store, a toll road leading to Prescott, and engaged in freighting. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:343. Kelly, *Arizona*, has a biographical sketch, and he is recorded in Farish, *Arizona, passim*. He served in the Council of the 2nd Legislative Assembly.

never had even a thought of the "dough" or looked into the saddle-bags from start to finish; I had other and more serious matters to think about.

About this time the Secretary of War had made Arizona into a separate military depa[r]tment, the Depa[r]tment of Arizona, Headquarters Fort Whipple and assigned General George Stoneman ⁷⁸ to command the newly created department. Shortly after Stoneman assumed command—he was an entire stranger to me—he sent an orderly up to Prescott with a request that I call at headquarters. I went down to the Post where I found the General in a tent, no headquarters building had yet been put up. Entering his tent the General said, "Do you know where Camp Mogollon is located?" I said, "Not exactly." "Can you find it?" I replied that I thought I could find the camp. "When can you start," said the General. "Right now," I said. He smiled and said, "You are prompt, but tomorrow will do; come down tomorrow and I will have the dispatches ready for you."

I left the Post about nine o'clock and reached Camp Verde ⁷⁹ before sundown; from this post I would make my real start through the *Apachería* with no trails for two hundred miles thru a mountainous country full of Indians. In '70 the Apaches were pretty troublesome, and their fires could be seen almost every night from Camp Verde. I left

78. George Stoneman graduated from West Point in 1846. He attained the rank of Major General of Volunteers during the Civil War. He died September 5, 1894. Heitman, *Register*. He was assigned to the command of the military department of Arizona in 1870. His policy toward the Indians is discussed in Farish, *Arizona*, 8:97, and in Ogle's study, *Note 4*. See also Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:470. The military department of Arizona was created April 15, 1870, when the two districts of Arizona, Northern and Southern, were united into the Department. Ogle, *op. cit.*. Farish, *Arizona*, 8:93.

79. Camp Verde, in the Verde valley, about forty miles east of Prescott, was first established by Arizona volunteer troops as an outpost of Fort Whipple in September, 1865. Regular troops occupied it in January, 1866. At that time it was known as Camp Lincoln, but the name was changed to Verde in 1868 in order to avoid confusion with another Camp Lincoln in Dakota Territory. The original site proved to be unhealthy and the post was moved about a mile down river in 1871. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:397. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 316. Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 166. Hodge, *Arizona*, 215.

The Arizona Volunteers were mustered into service in 1865. There were four companies: Two of Pima and Papago Indians; one company of Mexicans raised by H. S. Washburn. They were mustered out before October, 1866. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:414. The 1st Legislative Assembly had authorized the issuance of \$100,000 worth of bonds to finance a campaign against the Apaches and the raising of six companies of volunteers to a total of 600 Rangers, effective January 1, 1865. *Acts and Resolutions*.

Verde in the night, intending to pass thru—if I could—the Apache cordon of fires during the night. This I did successfully, and camped for the night in a secluded place. When leaving Verde, however, Wales Arnold,⁸⁰ the post trader, Lieutenant Mack Kay Owen,⁸¹ the Q. M. at Verde, Lieutenant Cradlebaugh,⁸² and Frank Murray⁸³ went out about a quarter of a mile to bid me the last good-bye, as they all supposed. Owen was a warm personal friend of mine, and by the way, I acted as his “second” in a duel at one time. Owen was a first class game-cock.

On all my solitary rides thru the Apache country, I invariably saw the Indians first, and if not more than a half dozen, I simply gave [a] yell and charged them firing a shot. This did the business; they never stopt to look, but took it for granted that a whole troop of cavalry were at their heels. If too many I quietly dropt back and avoided them. In such cases discretion is the better part of valor. I was very discrete at such times. Many men have lost their lives by Indians, and nine times in ten it has been their own carelessness. They ride or walk along chattering like magpies, never seeing anything, and the Apaches simply ambush them without any trouble. I always remained silent nor would I permit any “magpie” business with me. If they would not cease their chatter I left 'em in a band by myself. None of that in mine.

I reached Camp Mogollon all right, and going to Colonel John Green's⁸⁴ tent delivered my dispatches. The Colonel

80. Wales Arnold enlisted as a Corporal in Co. F, 1st Regiment California Volunteers, at La Porte, California, August 16, 1861. He was mustered out at Whipple Barracks, August 29, 1864. Orton, *Records*, p. 359.

81. William McKay Owen enlisted as a Corporal, Co. D, 1st Regiment California Volunteers at San Francisco, August 28, 1861. He was promoted to 2nd Lieut., Co. K., 6th Infantry, September 14, 1863. Orton, *Records*, p. 351.

82. George William Cradlebaugh served briefly in the Civil War and then entered West Point, July 1, 1863. He graduated four years later, was mustered out January 1, 1871, with the rank of 1st Lieut., and died November 25, 1875. Heitman, *Register*.

83. Mentioned by James M. Barney as being the post-butcher at Camp Date Creek. Farish, *Arizona*, 8:315.

84. John Green was born in Germany. He enlisted in the army of the United States with the rank of Sergeant and served in the War with Mexico; attained the rank of Brigadier General; and was awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry in action on several different occasions during his career. He retired November 20, 1889. Heitman, *Register*. He was commandant at Camp Goodwin in 1889. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:439.

was very much surprised; after he had asked if I had come in by way of Camp Goodwin⁸⁵ or by way of Fort Wingate, and I said that I came in thru those butes, as I pointed westward from the Camp. He at once called my name, although we were personal strangers to each other. The Colonel said, "I was going to have you shot once; but, had I done so, I would have regretted it very much." "There would have been more regrets on my part, Colonel," I said. He laughed and said, "Yes, yes, no doubt."

When in government employ I carried "verbal orders," and on this trip General Stoneman had said to me, "Give my compliments to Colonel Green with a request that he furnish whatever you may need to look out a wagon road from his Camp to the Horse Head crossing on the Little Colorado river."

I asked the General to give the exact date of his intended departure from Whipple. Knowing every camp he was obliged to make between Whipple and that crossing, I desired to meet him at the crossing. It took five days to go down as we had more or less road to make on the trip. Nevertheless, my party had been in camp at Horsehead just one hour and a half when the Stoneman party arrived. The General complimented me on the service I had rendered. He was on a tour of inspection and, after leaving, went to all the southern posts. Before leaving Camp Mogollon I had brought in an order changing the name from Camp Mogollon to Camp Thomas and after General Stoneman arrived at the then Camp Thomas, he issued another "general order" changing it to Camp Apache. General Stoneman, in the presents of Colonel Green, told me to take a party and team out to a vein of coal which an Apache of my own age had taken me to under the notion it was gold, or rather the yellow stuff at the base of the vein and to bring in a small quantity for the blacksmith to make a test, and if satisfactory to take a small lot of it to Whipple and make a report on the mine to Colonel Fos-

85. Camp Goodwin, named in honor of Governor Goodwin, was established in June 18, 1864, about three miles south of the Gila river and six miles west of Fort Thomas. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:405. It was established by California Volunteers and served as an army post for a number of years. Farish, *Arizona*, 8:93.

ter,⁸⁶ Chief Quartermaster of the Department. I remained at the Post several days before returning to Whipple.

In the meantime, Major Thompson⁸⁷ and a quartermaster's clerk named Van Dorn had arrived there from Fort Wingate. They were desirous of going on to Fort Whipple, and came to me and wanted to know if I had any objection to their going along with me. I replied that it was a big fine open country between Apache and Fort Whipple, and plenty of room in which to travel. But if they cared to travel with me they must go my way and do as I did. To this they agreed.

We started the next morning, but not over the same route I had come in on; as a rule I never "back tracked." On my return trip I cut across the mountains north of the Post, keeping along the northern slopes of the range and down to the mouth of Canon Diablo.⁸⁸ Here I struck westerly and passed around the southern end of Bill Williams mountain. Reaching the section known as the cedars, a very dangerous place for Apaches, I remarked to the Major to keep his eyes open for Reds; that I had been thru that section several times and never failed to see Apaches each time. He was like many others I have known, and smiled superciliously as much as to say, "I have heard that sort of talk before." Nevertheless I knew what I was talking about, and we had not gone far when I caught the glint of a gun about two miles away. I said, "There they are now." He suddenly pulled up and exclaimed, "Where! where!" and began to look about in the immediate vicinity. I said I caught the glint of a gun about two miles away, as the Indian stepped out [from] the shade of a large juniper tree. By keeping my eyes rivited on the spot, I could make out the Indians and counted five as they filed out from beneath the tree. Knowing the location of Rattlesnake tank, I saw that the Reds were going towards it. The Major says, "What are we

86. Probably Charles Warren Foster who served in the ranks during the War with Mexico. He attained the rank of Colonel during the Civil War and retired from the service on September 24, 1891. Heitman, *Register*.

87. I have not been able to identify this officer in Heitman, *Register*.

88. An interesting landmark in northern Arizona which is crossed today by travelers in automobile and train.

going to do?" I said, "We will go right along as though nothing had happened; the Indians have not seen us." "Yes, but we will be going right towards the Indians," persisted the Major. I started on and both followed, keeping my eye on the spot where I knew the tank was located in order to see if the Apaches came out again or remained down in the tank hole. When we reached a point opposite the tank, I said to the Major, "The Indians are down in a hole and only five of them. We have them like rats in a trap." "Great God," he says, "We haven't lost any Indians and there is no knowing how many more there may be hereabouts. Don't stop here in this hornet's nest!"

I went on to where I had first seen the Apaches and told the Major and Van Dorn to go on, that I would ride out to the tree and see by the "sign" if there were more than five Indians. They road on towards Hell Canon and I went to the tree; from here I followed the tracks toward the tank. Pretty soon I saw an Indian's head appear above the rim. I fired a shot at the head with my six-shooter and [at] the same time charged the Indians. Of course, as usual, they simply flew out of sight in a nearby volcanic canon; their britch-clouts sailing out behind. Turning about I soon came up with the Major and Van Dorn. "What in h—l do you mean by shooting and yelling in that manner. Do you want all the Apaches in the country after us? There is Hell canon to cross. Are you crazy?" To tell the truth the brave (?) Major was badly frightened. I answered, "I may be crazy, but if I am there's method in my craziness anyway." The Major says, "Method in such crazy acts."

We crossed Hell canon all right and by this time the sun had gone down and the Major wanted to know, "What are we to do now as you raised the whole country about our ears?" I simply said, "Follow me and we'll be all right."

I continued on until it was quite dark, then suddenly turned to the right and struck out thru the cedars and junipers for some distance; then veering to the left I came to a little park wholly surrounded by cedars and junipers. I dismounted and began to unsaddle my animal. The Major asked, "What, are we going to camp here?" I said, "I am

at any rate." He still thought we were in danger of the Apaches and would be killed in the night. I lay down on my saddle-blanket and went to sleep. They followed suit—don't know that they slept any that night, it didn't bother me anyway whether they did or not.

In due time we reached Whipple in safety, and the Major at once proceeded to tell what a crazy fool I was; he also told the people at Prescott and was laughed at for his pains, and [they] told him it was my way and, crazy or not crazy, he gets there all the same, and has been doing it for years, and where few others ever attempt to go he [Banta] always goes.

November, 1870, a general electi[o]n came off. R. C. McCormick⁸⁹ was a candidate for re-electi[o]n to Congress. Peter R. Brady⁹⁰ was his opponent. Mc was again sent to Congress. Jim Simpson⁹¹ had a ranch over on Willow creek, four or five miles from town. A. G. Dunn (afore mentioned) had a step-daughter, her moth[e]r being a Mexican woman. The girl went to the ranch with Simpson; Dunn and a few *Paisanos* [countrymen] went out there and bombarded the house with rifles. Jim could have killed Dunn then and there, but the girl requested Jim not to shoot. Finally the Dunn party left and returned to Prescott. About a week after, Simpson came to town and going into Bashford's⁹² store,

89. R. C. McCormick came to Arizona as the first Territorial Secretary with Governor Goodwin. He brought along a printing press and founded the first newspaper in northern Arizona, the *Miner*, later named *The Journal Miner*. He became Governor in April, 1866, and subsequently served three terms in Congress as Delegate. Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 329. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:357 *passim*. His career can be traced in Farish, *Arizona*. See Note 34 and 35.

90. Peter R. Brady was a graduate of Annapolis. Born in Washington (Georgetown) D. C., August 4, 1825, he emigrated to California. In San Francisco, he organized the first mining company to operate in Arizona. He came to Ajo in 1853 (possibly 1854), and settled in Tucson the following year. He later moved to Florence and operated a flour mill. Brady served as sheriff of Pima county, in four Territorial Legislatures, and lost a contest for Territorial Delegate. Death occurred on May 2, 1902. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:312 (note). Kelly, *Arizona*, 351-52. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 264. Barney, *Manuscript*, 1:8, 2:18.

91. J. A. Simpson killed A. G. Dunn in a gun fight, November 8, 1870. *Weekly Arizona Miner*, November 19, 1870. There was an Albert Dunn in the Walker party that arrived in the Prescott region in 1863. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:336 (note)

92. This was probably the store of Levi Bashford who came to Arizona as the first Surveyor-General with the Governor Goodwin party in 1863. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:357. Hodge, *Arizona*, pp. 114, 260. Farish, *Arizona*, 4:311ff. He was probably related to Coles Bashford who played a prominent part in the history of Territorial Arizona as a lawyer and politician. The latter's biographical sketch is in Farish, *Arizona*, 3:90ff.

he was warned by Colonel Henry Biglow⁹³ that Dunn had said he would kill Simpson on sight. Jim immediately returned to where he had left his gun. With his big needle-gun^{93a} he started to return up town, time between sun-down and dark. Hearing that trouble was likely to take place, and Jim and I were old friends, I started down towards the place where I knew he always left his horse. Presently I heard a pistol shot and a few seconds after I heard the roar of the needle-gun; again it roared and twice more I heard that gun-roar. By this time I had reached Jim, and he said, "I've killed Dunn, but I had to shoot four times before he fell."

Jim went to the Sheriff and gave himself up. I was on the coroner's jury which examined the body of Dunn; we found all four [bullet] holes in the breast and [they] could be covered with the hand. They had passed thru the body. Dunn fired but one shot and then stood still facing Simpson who had thought he had missed Dunn with his first three shots, and did not know that he had hit until the fourth shot when Dunn turned and walked about fifteen or twenty feet and fell face downward, stone dead. Jim was put under \$1500 bond and released to await action of the Grand Jury; Bashford, Biglow and others going upon the bond.

After the election passed Jim and I started for Salt river where we stopt with Jack Swilling for a time. In January, '71, we started for Tucson, reaching that "ancient and honorable pueblo" on the 11th of the same month. I immediately began work on the *Tucson Citizen*, a paper started by Surveyor-General John Wason,⁹⁴ October 15, 1870. Simpson returned to Prescott to stand trial at the April term of court and was acquitted of the killing of A. G. Dunn. He then came back to Tucson and soon afterwards married a Mexi-

93. Henry A. Bigelow is listed as a member of the 1st and 2nd Legislative Assembly in Kelly, *Arizona*, but I have no further information about him or how he acquired the title of Colonel. He was a resident of Yavapai county which would make Prescott a likely place for him to visit. See also *Journals of the Twelfth Legislative Assembly*, p. 648 (Journal Company, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1883)

93a. See Note 102.

94. John Wason was the first Surveyor-General of Arizona (1870) and founder of the *Arizona Citizen* at Tucson, first published October 15, 1870. Governor Myron H. McCord, *Report to Secretary of the Interior, 1897*, p. 82 (Washington, 1897). Hodge, *Arizona*, p. 154. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:456f. Biographical sketch in Farish, *Arizona*, 6:308.

can girl. One night Jim was in George Foster's saloon leaning over the bar talking to George Hand, the doors being open, some unknown party fired a pistol at Jim, the shot taking effect in his back. Jim was laid up for some time, but eventually pulled thru, but finally died from the effects of that wound a few years after at Florence.⁹⁵

In 1871 a great "diamond" excitement was started by a fellow named Arnold;⁹⁶ his diamond fields were located in the Navajo country, in the northeastern part of Arizona. Arnold organized a company capitalized at \$10,000,000. The Bank of California was tr[e]asurer of the company. W. C. Ralston was president of the Bank. Some friends of Governor A. P. K. Safford, residing in San Francisco, wrote the Governor that the diamond stock was selling on the market like hot cakes; that they had some loose money and thought of investing the same in "diamond stock," but if he had some one who could go out and quietly investigate the "fields" they would wait until hearing from him in the matter. The Governor asked if I would go and look into this thing. I fitted out for a three months trip and left Tucson on the 15th day of July, 1871. [I] was gone one month and seventeen days, when I returned to Tucson and reported to the Governor that in my opinion the whole thing was a fake. The Governor immediately wrote his friends in California to wait awhile; no hurry about investing their money; that his man had returned and reported unfavorably on the matter. They did not invest and thereby saved their money. In a few short weeks the "bubble busted."

However, before starting on that trip General George Crook⁹⁷ had arrived at Tucson and stopt at the Governor's

95. The first house at Florence was erected in 1866. The site was laid out as a town in 1869. Levi Ruggles is called the founder and Richard C. McCormick is credited with naming it. It was an early terminus for stage lines from Prescott on the north and Yuma to the west. Fish, *Manuscript*, 1:447. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 264.

96. The story of this diamond hoax has been written more than once. An adequate account can be found in George D. Lyman, *Ralston's Ring* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1947) A brief account, including confirmation that Safford employed Banta, is in Frank C. Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, pp. 131f (Los Angeles, The Times-Mirror Press, 1928)

97. George Crook graduated from West Point in 1852 and rose to the rank of Major General. He died March 21, 1890. His autobiography has been published; see *Note 2*.

house, being an old friend of both Wason and Safford. The General entered the Territory at Yuma, June 19, '71, and came to relieve General George Stoneman. Crook had heard of me and asked Wason to bring me up to the Capital building; that he desired to have a talk with me. I and Wason went up together and he introduced me to General Crook. Up to this time I had neither seen nor heard of Crook. We talked for perhaps two hours; at least I talked for that length of time, the General merely asking questions. He wanted [me] to take service with him then and there, but I could not as I had promised the Governor to look into the diamond matter.

Crook says the troops have made a failure so far, and wanted to know what I thought about the matter. I replied that if I were in his place I would "fight fire with fire." He then looked up for the first time and said, "How is that; what do you mean?" I said, "Fight Indians with Indians,"⁹⁸ it is the only method to pursue in a country so mountainous as Arizona; that infantry was practically useless, and the cavalry was not much better; that many times we had to dismount, leaving our animals stuck in the mud, and take it afoot; that the Apaches invariably made for the rocks and the steepest points they could reach, and of course troops were almost helpless to do anything." He said the idea was good—as an experiment only.

E. N. Fish & Co.⁹⁹ had a sawmill in the Santa Ritas, about twelve miles above Camp Crittenden,¹⁰⁰ in charge of Tom

98. This is an interesting comment by Banta. Apaches were eventually enlisted to fight their kinsmen. The Spanish had used such tactics in the eighteenth century.

99. Edward N. Fish arrived in Arizona in 1865. He soon entered business as post-trader at Calabazas under the firm name of Garrison and Fish. Later he moved to Tucson and operated as E. N. Fish and Co. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:453f. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 267. He had been a California '49er. His portrait and short biographical sketch appear in Farish, *Arizona*, 4:267. He is not to be confused with Joseph Fish, whose *Manuscript* is frequently cited herein.

100. Camp Crittenden was established in August, 1867, near Tucson for protection of southwestern Arizona. It was the site of the earlier Fort Buchanan. The later camp was named in honor of General Thomas S. Crittenden, then in command of the military district south of the Gila. John H. Cady, *Arizona's Yesterday*, p. 38f.

(Rewritten and Revised by Basil Dillon Woon, 1915) Cady arrived in Arizona after the Civil War with the 1st United States Cavalry, Co. C. He mentions early 1868 as the date for Camp Crittenden. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 232, reads as follows: "It is a ride of a dozen miles to old Camp Crittenden, laid out on a hill, from which we can look down on the ruins of old Fort Buchanan;" a description that dates about 1876 or 1877.

Gardner with a small force of employees; the Apaches were pretty bad and Tom sent in word to Fish for more arms and ammunition. John Wason, Sammy Hughes¹⁰¹ (now of Tucson), a driver and one or two others were going to Crittenden, and I went along in the ambulance, taking out the arms and ammunition to the sawmill. The guns were "I. C." needleguns¹⁰² formerly used by the soldiers. Reaching the mill with the arms, I distributed them among the men, reserving the best appearing one for my own use. My duties of course were to scout about the mountains and keep a lookout for the Apaches.

One day, being some distance from camp, I heard an Indian call to me; there was a deep gorge between us, but I saw the fellow plainly enough, tho I did not care to waste a shot on him. Returning to camp the next [day] being Sunday—I thought to try my gun as I had not as yet fired a shot out of it.

Putting up a mark against a tree and taking a dead rest off of a stump I pulled the trigger and the thing snapt. Trying another cartridge it snapt again. This was strange, so I examined gun and found it had no needle in it and of course would not shoot. So again I was hunting Apaches with a gun that would not shoot; however, the Apaches didn't know it was not loaded, and that was something in my favor.

In a few days thereafter, I was taken down sick with a malignant feavor and had to be taken down to the military post. Desiring to go to Tucson and be treated by my old friend, Doctor J. C. Handy, one of the best physicians in the Territory, I saw Lieutenant Stewart,^{102a} quartermaster of Camp Crittenden, and asked for permission to ride in with

101. A short biography and picture of Samuel C. Hughes is in Farish, *Arizona*, 2:210. A Welshman by birth, Hughes arrived in Tucson from California in 1858 on the edge of death from tuberculosis, but he recovered and became a leading citizen in the community.

102. This was the Dreyse rifle, invented by J. N. von Dreyse: "A single-shot breech-loading rifle, with bolt breech closure, developed in 1836, firing a conical bullet incased in a paper cartridge together with a powder charge . . . Commonly called the *needlegun*." *Webster's International Dictionary*.

102a. Reid T. Stewart graduated from West Point and was commissioned 2nd Lieut., 5th Cavalry, June 12, 1871. He was killed in action against Apache Indians in Davidson's Canyon, Arizona, August 27, 1872. Heitman, *Register*. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:661, citing Hamilton, *Resources of Arizona* (2nd edition, 1883)

the U. S. mail buckboard. I was very weak at this time; was run down with feavor and di'sentary [dysentery]. The Lieutenant said he had intended to go in with the buckboard, but "as you are sick, go with the buckboard and I will go along with the wagon and escort." Learning a wagon was to go I said to the Lieutenant I would prefer going with the wagon as I could lie down. And I did so. Lieutenant Stewart and Corporal Black, the mail carrier, started a few minutes in advance of the government mule team. Along with the wagon was Sergeant Brown of the cavalry service, and a corporal and seven "doughboys" as escort; also the Lieutenant's "dogrobber." Brown rode his horse in advance of the wagon, and as we entered Davis canon I saw Brown pull up his horse and looked down. Presently he came back to the wagon and said, "Get out men, the Apaches are thick around here." Seeing an object lying in the road that looked to me like a sack of barley, I asked Brown what it was; he said, "It is Lieutenant Stewart's dead body." We drove up to the body and Brown ordered the men to put the dead body into the wagon and then rode away to see what had become of the buckboard and Corporal Black.

Sergeant Brown was a man, and was as cool as if on parade, but I cannot say as much for the doughboys. Two of the men, one at the head and one at the feet, without laying down their guns, attempted to do something with the body, at the same time they were looking out for the Apaches. I ordered them to lay their guns down and pick up the body with both of their hands, but being so badly rattled they paid no attention to my "orders." I then called to Brown and said, "These sons of b—s will never put the body in the wagon." Brown came back and threatened to brain them with his gun if they did not lay down their guns and put the body in the wagon. They dropt guns and complied.

About two hundred yards further on we saw the buckboard and mail. It was standing at the mouth of a wash coming down from the Santa Ritas. The wagon was full to the top of the bed and I sat on the plunder with both feet hanging over the side of the bed facing the Santa Rita

mountain. I was too weak to get out and walk about. We had stopt again and Brown continued to look about for the Corporal's body.

In my front was a low mesa with a few scattering cedars on the brow of it. Behind these cedars were Apaches, and one after another would jump up and yell and fire at me. I say at me because I was in plain view, sitting on the wagon; the doughboys had gotten down behind the wagon on the opposite side from the Apaches. I looked right into the muzzle of a gun pointed point blank at me, saw the fire come out of the gun, but all I could do was to grit my teeth and await the result. One shot I felt the concussion of the air as the ball passed close to my head; another ball cut thru the wagon bed a few inches from my right leg. Suddenly I felt a gun-barrel against the side of my head, and looking around, said to the soldier, "Keep your d—n gun away; I don't want to [be] shot by you." I then called to Brown to come to the wagon and order the men up the mesa. He came back and gave the order and three or four of them started up [the] side of the mesa. It was not more than forty feet high and the Indians were shooting not over twenty-five or thirty yards, but shooting downwards perhaps accounted for their poor marksmanship. The men had gone about half way up when up jumped the Apaches and fired again. The soldiers merely fired their guns in the air; I know this for I sat there and looked at them. They returned and one of them said, "I got one of them. Did you hear him hollow?" I said to the fellow, "You raised hell; I saw you shoot up into the air." Brown says to me, "I can't find Black's body." I pointed to a bunch of Apaches up the wash, perhaps three or four hundred yards away, who were walking about as if looking for something, and said the Corporal is up there.

At the first fire Stewart was killed and perhaps the Corporal may have been wounded. He run his mule to the mouth of the wash and tried to get away by running up the wash; that the Apaches had followed him and have just killed him with a lance, and are now looking for anything he may have dropt in his flight. We could have whipped that fight easily if those dough boys had been any good. The Apaches were

a part of Coches' [Cochise] band. Brown then said to me, "What had we better do?" I said, "There is no fight in this bunch so we might as well move on before the Apaches can get in ahead of us further down the canon." He said it was about the best thing to do under the circumstances, and ordered the outfit to move on; he then rode off down the road.

I said to the driver to give me his gun and some cartridges, and to get on his mule and go on. But he merely went to the head of the team and foolishly tried to lead a six-mule team with one hand and his carbine in the other. I cursed to beat the band, but had little effect. Finally he came back to the wagon, and on my promise to protect him he reluctantly handed me the carbine. He had perhaps an hundred cartridges in a sack in his jockey box; these he got out and began to fill his pockets with them. I asked him to give some of the amunition to [me] but he refused. I said, "All right, I have the gun and shall keep it; what can you do with your cartridges?" "That's so," said he, and he handed me three cartridges; I asked for more but he flatly refused saying, "I can't spare any more."

When people loose their heads they don't know as much as a sheep, and no matter how much you may abuse them they take no offense at what you may say to them. But if you can once get them riled they are then all right and forget all about any danger there may be. Having secured the [gun] I had some authority, a gun is p[r]etty good authority at times. I ordered the driver to come over on the near side of his team and to get on his mule; also ordered the dough boys to get on the wagon and part face one way and the others to face in opposite direction, and all to keep sharp lookout for the red devils. I now said to the driver to drive on and to pay attention to his mules, that I was behind him with a gun, and not to look either to right or left. He sat that mule as stiff as a poker and never once took his eyes off the team. We passed thru the canon without further incident and reached Tucson sometime in the night.

It was enough to make a saint swear to see those britch-clouted devils walking about, apparently indifferent to our presence, and then to be shot at and have nothing with which

to return the compliment, was really agrivating in the extreme. It would have been simply a picnic to have whipped the fight, but to go away like a parcel of curs was really humiliating.

Reaching Tucson I was confined to my bed for quite a long time. Doctor Handy had given me up to die and said, "Unless a change takes place within the next few hours you cannot live." After the Doctor left I told the people to fill up the bath-tub with cold water; this done, I had them place me in the cold water, and for the first time in weeks I felt comfortably happy; so happy that I went off to sleep in the tub of water. In a couple of hours the Doctor returned and seeing me covered with perspiration said, "The crisis has passed." Then looking down he saw the tub and asked what it meant. Being informed he said, "It's a wonder it did not kill you; not one in a thousand could have lived." I said, "If I had to die, what's the difference." It saved my life anyway.

In 1872 I helped to survey the old town of Tucson. At the time there was nothing east of Stone Avenue but greese-wood and the graveyard was a long way north of town. The few stores in town were on main street, and very little of anything on Congress Street east of Charley Brown's Congress Hall. After the survey I went down to Altar in the state of Sonora, Mexico. On my return from Mexico I was appointed Inspector of Customs at \$100 per month at Tucson. In the meantime, General O. O. Howard ¹⁰³ had come out and established several Indian reservations. At the White Mountain reservation the General appointed Dr. Milan Soule ¹⁰⁴ as agent; he was the army doctor at Camp Apache. The northern Apaches were not on good terms with the Apaches of the southern part of the Territory, and a sub-

103. Oliver Otis Howard, graduate of West Point, was commissioned July 1, 1854. He had a distinguished military record, received the Medal of Honor, and retired November 8, 1894. His mission to the Southwest in February, 1872, was planned as part of a strong move to win peace with the Apache by conciliation. This project can be studied in Ogle, *Note 4*. See also, Oliver Otis Howard, *My Life and Experiences among our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, 1907)

104. Dr. Soule is mentioned in Ogle's study on pp. 60, 65, 197; see *Note 4*. Dr. Soule, a military surgeon, was transferred to California by his own request of November 28, 1872. *Ibid.*

agent had to be appointed for the southern Apaches. "Little" Steve was appointed sub-agent and the agency established at (Old) Fort Grant¹⁰⁵—formerly Fort Breckenridge, on the San Pedro River. As soon as this was done Steve wrote me a letter saying, "If you are tired of that custom house come down here, I need you." Of course I resigned at once and went down to help him control the Reds of his agency. Traveling was dangerous and the buckboard carrying the mails to Grant was obliged to leave Tucson in the afternoon in order to pass thru the twelve mile canyon in the night, arriving at Grant at daylight the following day.

I went down in the buckboard to Grant and then up to the agency a mile above the Post. The Indians were pretty saucy tho they were on the reserve; especially chief Santos¹⁰⁶ of the Tontos. Eskiminzin of the Arivaipai Apaches was the most noted war chief, but I had no trouble with him, and subsequently we became very good friends. Nevertheless when they broke out, Eskiminzin's first act was to kill his best friend, a man named Kinney. At the pow-wow between the Apaches and Crook and Collier,¹⁰⁷ to the question, "Why did you kill your best friend?" the rascal said, "My heart swelled and I had to kill him." A very satisfactory excuse! The agency at Grant being a sub-agency, Steve's papers had to be sent to Doctor Soule. The first quartely report going up the Doctor saw my name on the rolls and immediately wrote Steve to send me up at once. (I had saved the Doctor's life on two occasions when on scouting expeditions with the military, he being field surgeon at those times. But an ac-

105. Old Camp Grant was situated at the confluence of the Aravaipa creek and San Pedro river. The first military post on the site was Camp Breckinridge, 1856; abandoned in 1861. The California Column established Fort Stanford there in 1862, named in honor of the Governor of California. It was renamed Fort Grant in 1866. The New Fort Grant was established near Mt. Graham in 1873. Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 165. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:440. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 311.

106. Chief Santo was the father-in-law of Es-kim-in-zin. He traveled to Washington, D. C., in company with General Howard during the period of attempted pacification of the Apaches in the early 1870's. The story has been told in John P. Clum, "Es-kim-in-zin," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 3:399-420. The same article appears in *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 1 (April, 1929). See *Note 103*.

107. Vincent Colyer was the civilian agent sent to the West by President Grant to promote the new peace policy in dealing with the Apache. His activities have been discussed in Ogle's study. *Note 4*. See also Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 13:293 *passim*.

count of these matters will be found under the head of "Scouting Expeditions." Steve asked me if I was satisfied in my present position. I said I was; and he says, "We will then stand off the Doctor." He wrote back to the Doctor, "I can't spare him."

In due time Nat Noble¹⁰⁸ came down with another letter saying, "I have sent a good man to take his place; no further excuse, send him up." I went, of course.

Reaching Apache I met the Doctor in front of the Adjutant's office and after shaking hands asked him, "What is the matter, Doctor?" He said, "I have more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of commissaries over at the agency buildings for which I am responsible to the Government, and have a fellow there named Jack May looking after it; think of a man with that sort of name being responsible for anything; I can't be there, my duties at the Post prevent me, and it is only on ration day I can go over, so I sent for you to take charge of that property."

The Doctor was the most conscientious of men; strictly honest and was simplicity itself. I have known him to set up all night by the bedside of a sick soldier. Few if any doctors do this unless the patient be a millionaire, and he has a chance to soak him for an enormous fee.

At this time there were all sorts of government contractors about Fort Apache. Many were unscrupulous, and as sugar was worth \$50 a sack, coffee the same, and flour \$10 per hundred, it can be seen at once that I was likely to be pestered by them. But not a pound did they or anyone get from the agency while under my control. The late Hugo Richards¹⁰⁹ at this time was at the Post as agent for Colonel C. P. Head,¹¹⁰ flour contractor for the Post. He roomed and messed with the Doctor and they became fast friends. During the year Hugo had collected considerable money for Colonel Head, but they had no way to send it to Prescott. He was afraid to go out with any escort that might be going

108. Charles Noble from Missouri was a member of the Walker party. Farish, *Arizona*, 2:243. See also *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts*.

109. Hugo Richards served in the 8th and 9th Legislative Assembly from Yavapai county. Kelly, *Arizona*.

110. C. P. Head was a member of the 8th Legislative Assembly. *Ibid*.

for fear the soldiers should know he had the money, kill him and desert. He finally persuaded the Doctor to allow me to shoot him thru the country to Tucson as I knew all the trails as well as the Indians. We left the Post in December '72, and I cut thru the mountains to Old Fort Grant and thence to Tucson where Hugo took the stage to Prescott.

The legislature being in session that winter at Tucson, and having a personal acquaintance with a majority of the members, I remained in Tucson until adjournment. I was absent three months, and there being no mails between Tucson and Fort Apache, I had not heard a word from the Post. Returning in the spring I met the Doctor as usual at the Adjutant's office. After a hand-shake the Doctor informed me that he had been relieved since I had been away; that a new agent named Roberts,¹¹¹ of the Dutch Reformed Church, had succeeded him as agent, that he had kept me on the rolls until relieved, that he advised Roberts to await my coming and to appoint me to take charge of the commissaries, that Roberts ignored his recommendations and said, "I'll use my own judgment in the selection of my employees."

I asked the Doctor if he had taken an inventory of the stock on hand, and [he] said I did so and found a very large surplus to my credit. That was all I wanted to hear. I asked who Roberts had appointed in my place and he smiled and said, "Charly Kinnear, and you know what that means." Roberts was honest enough but he was a chump, like the average pricher [preacher], and a bit swelled up over his position. Within a year Kinnear left for Europe with fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. A government inspector came out and found the preaching chup [chap?] to be about \$35,000 short in supplies—result the fool suicides.

In a majority of cases—a large majority—the government's selection of its agents in any department is made thru "pulls" and not for fitness or competency.

111. James E. Roberts was a nominee of the Dutch Reformed Church for agent to the Apache Indians, assuming his duties in December, 1872. See Ogle, *Note 4*. There is no mention of suicide in Ogle's account, but the agent was forced out of office for mal-administration. See also Clum in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, *Note 106*.

Othello's occupation being *defunctus*, I decided to return to my people the Zuñis; this was in the spring of 1873. In June of the same year George M. Wheeler of the engineers in charge of the expedition—Exploration West of the one hundredth Meridian—reached Santa Fe and wanted a guide for this expedition. He had several applications at Santa Fe, but Lieutenant Fountain,¹¹² Quartermaster at Fort Wingate, a good friend of mine, happened to meet Lieutenant Wheeler in Santa Fe and told him of me, and advised Wheeler to take no one else; and that I was then at the Zuñi villages. Wheeler wrote me a letter in care of Lieutenant Fountain, and the Lieutenant on his return to Wingate dispatched a courier to me with Wheeler's letter; also a letter from himself requesting me to come over and meet Wheeler at the Post. "Even if you do not go with him, come over anyway."

I went over to Wingate and was employed by Wheeler as guide. We pulled out of camp on the 4th day of July, 1873. My contract ended at Fort Apache. We went to Fort Defiance, thence to the Moqui villages. From the Moquis we struck south across the Painted Desert, striking the Little Colorado river, as I intended, at the Grand Falls. From the Falls we continued south to Coconino Tank; thence 20 degrees east of south to the rim of Tonto Basin. After traveling about 150 miles with the expedition, we reached Fort Apache in September. Here Wheeler was ordered back to Washington and Lieutenant Tillman¹¹³ assumed command of the expedition. I had quit of course but Tillman sent for me and requested that I continue with the expedition south and east to Fort Bayard, thence northeasterly to Wingate. I told the Lieutenant that I was unfamiliar with that section of country; he said, "From what I am informed, you know more about country and how to get thru it, which you never have been thru, than many of our guides who claim to know all about it. Go with me as far as you can anyway." I went with

112. Probably Samuel Warren Fountain who served in the Civil War and then graduated from West Point, being commissioned 2nd Lieut., 8th Cavalry, June 15, 1870. Heitman, *Register*. For references to the Wheeler expedition, see Note 41.

113. Samuel Escue Tillman, graduate of West Point, commissioned 2nd Lieut., 4th Artillery, June 15, 1869; transferred to the Engineers, June 10, 1872. Heitman, *Register*.

the outfit as far as the Gila river. Meeting my friend Major Morrow,¹¹⁴ paymaster in the army, at this point, at the Major's invitation I rode with the Major in his ambulance to Tucson.

Following my usual course I lay around Tucson until broke, refusing to go into the *Citizen* office and set type at \$1 per thousand ems.¹¹⁵ In the fall, Jim Simpson and self left Tucson for Yuma; arriving here I took charge of the *Sentinel* office at \$5 a day. Judge W. J. Berry¹¹⁶ was the editor, but the office belonged to James M. Barney, the agent at Yuma for Wm. B. Hooper & Co.¹¹⁷ At this time the old Colorado Steam Navigation Company¹¹⁸ did all the freighting business from the West. The Company had five small steamers on the river and two ocean steamers plying between [the] mouth of the river at Port Ysabel to San Francisco. I took a notion to visit California, and buying a ticket by the river and ocean route, I boarded the steamer *Colorado*, Captain Poole, March 11, 1874.

114. Robert Morrow from Tennessee, Captain of Volunteers in the Civil War. Mustered out of the service with the rank of Lieut. Col., he re-enlisted as Major and paymaster. He died November 27, 1873. Heitman, *Register*.

115. "The portion of a line formerly occupied by the letter m, then a square type, used as a unit of measure for printed matter. An em pica, approximately 1/12 of an inch,—commonly used as a standard of measurement, especially of column width." *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 5th edition. I judge that Banta means that a thousand ems was the setting of 1,000 type letters in a printer's stick.

116. Judge William J. Berry of Prescott bought the first lot when the Phoenix townsite was laid out. He was "also appointed the first register of the Land Office at Prescott, and in October, 1873, became editor of the *Yuma Sentinel*, when the publication was the property of Col. James M. Barney, who sold it in 1875 to John W. Dorrington." Barney, *Manuscript*, 3:9. Hodge, *Arizona*, p. 212.

117. William Burchell Hooper from Vermont enlisted in the 2nd California Cavalry with the rank of 2nd Lieut., July 23, 1862. He was mustered out with the rank of Major, July 13, 1866. Heitman, *Register*. He established the army quartermaster's depot on the Arizona side of the Colorado river at the Yuma crossing in 1864. Upon resigning from the service, he entered the mercantile business at Yuma. He sold out to James M. Barney. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 249. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:381, 449.

Ruined in 1863-1864 by a drought in California, James M. Barney settled in Yuma and became a partner of Hooper. He later bought the Silver King mine for \$300,000. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 249; see *Note* 138. He started the *Arizona Sentinel* at Yuma in 1871. McCord, *Report* (1897), p. 83.

118. Boats were first "hailed" rather than towed up the Colorado river. Then sidewheelers were built on the river, out of which grew the Colorado Steam Navigation company. The first steamer from the Gulf of California to the Yuma landing was the *Uncle Sam*, owned and commanded by Captain Turnbull, arriving December 3, 1852. Steamers towed barges until 1872, then steamers came directly from San Francisco to Yuma until the railroad was built to that town. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 247f. A further discussion of river transportation can be found in Wyllys, *Arizona*.

On the third day we reached Port Ysabel and the same afternoon transferred to the steamship *Montana*. We swung at anchor all that night and early next morning steamed away down the Gulf of California. We put in at various Mexican ports including Guaymas and Cape San Lucas. One day while steaming up the Mexican coast of Bajo California, I was sitting next to the rail on the port side; looking across the water among the white caps I saw a sail and called Captain McDonnough's attention to it. He gazed across the water for some time and then said, "I see nothing—Do [you] mean to say you can see a sail?" I said, "Of course [I] do and there it is now; can't you see it?" He directed a sailor to bring his glasses and then to his astonishment there was an open boat with sails. He remarked, "You have extraordinary eye-sight. I have followed the sea all my life yet I could not see that sail with my naked eyes." It was the talk of the ship from there on to San Francisco. At this writing I am past 70 and do not use glasses.

The occupants of the boat proved to be Captain Hefferman, two white sailors, and five Chinese sailors from the steamship *Colima*, then disabled and lying at Cerros island near the Mexican coast. He was trying to beat his way up to the nearest telegraph station to wire San Francisco of their condition. He entered into a contract with our captain to return to the disabled steamer *Colima* and tow her up to San Francisco. Accordingly we turned about and steamed that day and the following night and early in the morning two black streaks were seen, one behind the other, against the sky low down near the horizon. They proved to be the Steamship *Arizona* with the *Colima* in tow. They belonged to the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. We met and bobbed about like corks in a pond for a time. After taking off some supplies from our ship we parted company, our Captain taking the "inside" with the intention of calling at San Diego to wire his company of what he had done and the contract with Hefferman. We lay-to off the harbor of San Diego and sent a boat ashore; the purser going off, I sent a written account of what had transpired to the *Daily San Diego Union*. It was probably midnight when the boat went off and about two

o'clock when it returned. We reached the Golden Gate and steamed up to the city front about noon. The two companies had a lawsuit over the matter, but I heard ours won out.

Had knocked about San Francisco about two weeks. One day, going up Market [Street], I heard a loud and familiar voice issuing from the door of the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Going in, I found John G. Capron¹¹⁹ talking to a bunch. After shaking hands, John wanted to know what I was doing up there. I said, "Looking at California; that's all." [He said,] "Well, if you want to see the very best of California come down to San Diego." I said, "When does the next steamer leave here?" He replied, "Tomorrow morning, and I go with it." "All right, I am with you John," and I went down to San Diego. Here I wish to say that San Diego has the finest all-year-round climate in the United States of America—don't forget this.

I worked on the *Daily Union* that summer and in the fall returned to Tucson.

In company with George Hill Howard¹²⁰ of Los Angeles, I made the trip from San Diego to Tucson in a two horse rig. We followed the old overland stage line along the Mexican boundary. While crossing the ancient bed of the Gulf of California, commonly called the "California desert," which was covered with shells, I had my first experience with an earthquake. About midway of the desert and while the horses were trotting along they suddenly stopt still and worked their ears back and forth and seemed to be frightened. When the buggy stopt we plainly felt the vibrations of the earth. The Gulf of California, at one time in the long ago, extended up that way for at least a hundred miles above its present head at the mouth of Colorado river. The present so called Salton Sea now covers a portion of the same area.

The following spring of '75 I went out to Colonel H. C. Hooker's¹²¹ ranch, near the head of the Sulpher Springs val-

119. John G. Capron was a member of the 1st Legislative Assembly representing Pima county. *Acts and Resolutions* (Prescott, 1865) His career can be traced in Farish, *Arizona*, vols. 1, 2, and 3.

120. I have no information on Howard.

121. H. C. Hooker "is the 'cattle king' of Arizona." Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 144. He got his start in the cattle business about 1866 as a beef contractor for the army post of Fort Goodwin, driving cattle in from Texas. McCord, *Report*, 1897, p. 45. Biographi-

ley and a few miles from (New) Camp Grant.¹²² Colonel Hooker was in the business of raising fine cattle and horses. The Colonel took me out to the stables and pointing [to] a fine saddle-horse said, "Their is your horse; don't let him starve; there is plenty of barley and hay on hand." With my horse and needle-gun I road the range for several days, most of the time "cutting trails." Any time I struck a trail leading away I followed it until I found the stock, no matter how far or how long it took me to do so. Sometimes I was away from the ranch two or three days without anything to eat but the lunch I carried with me in the morning I left the home ranch.

One morning Hooker called me into his office and handing me some papers said, "What's the matter with that paper?" I saw it was a government voucher for \$1,500, but was given in payment to three different persons, and had been returned from Washington "for correction." I told the Colonel that Government did not do business in that manner; that the voucher was all wrong. He asked what is to be done with it; I said new and separate vouchers must be made out, one for each person, and those persons must be looked up, if it can be done, and each man sign for his own voucher. Well, I leave the matter with you; do what you can with the business. I saddled my horse and hit the trail for the San Carlos agency. The incorrect voucher had been issued at Yuma in payment of salaries to Government employees. Reaching the San Carlos agency I saw Martin A. Sweeny,¹²³ then clerk for John P. Clum,¹²⁴ the Agent, and had Sweeny to make out three vouchers. My friend Sweeny said at the time, "The fellow that made that voucher must be a d--m fool." After

sketch in Elliott, Arizona, pp. 298-99. He is credited with having built Fort Goodwin at an exorbitant profit. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:405. Hookers's ranch was known as the Sierra Bonito, the Spanish name for Mt. Graham; it was located about twenty miles north of Wilcox, Arizona. *Ibid.*, 2:512, 585, citing Munk, *Arizona Sketches*, p. 93. Kelly, *Arizona*, pp. 114, 197. A biographical essay on Hooker can be read in Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, ch. 8. I do not know the origin of his title of Colonel.

122. See Note 105.

123. Martin A. Sweeny is mentioned in Clum, *op. cit.*, 3:37, and in Ogle in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 15:280.

124. John P. Clum was a storm center at the San Carlos agency during his career as Indian agent in Arizona. He published several articles in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vols. 3-6. Ogle deals with him in *Ibid.*, 15:214-48; see Note 4.

he had made out the three new vouchers, Sweeny says, "Two of those men are here; leave the two vouchers with me and I'll see that they sign them." Of course I could not compel them to sign if they refused to do so; but Sweeny was a New York ex-prize fighter, and I knew he would make the two sign nilly willy. This they did and one of them told me that he thought the other man was then in Camp Apache or was there some months ago. Going to Apache I was lucky to find the third man at the Post. Showing him the two vouchers which had been signed at San Carlos, I presented to him the one he was to sign; after thinking a bit he said, "All right, I received my money for the other voucher."

At this time the sub-agency at San Pedro had been abandoned and all the Apaches taken to San Carlos, and Sweeny was in charge when Clum was absent—which was most of the time. The main agency was still at Fort Apache. The clerk in charge—Clum being absent as usual—was a bit surprised to see me, and said, "I have tried for months to find out where you were, where have you been this long time." I then told him of my itinerary to Yuma, California, and back and that I was now at Hooker's ranch. He said we want you here as interpreter, "Can you come up?" I said, "All right, as soon as I can return to Hooker's ranch and deliver these vouchers; that Hooker was an old friend of mine and I was simply making my home at the ranch and not on the "payroll." Returning to the ranch I gave the Colonel the vouchers and said, "They are all right now; send them in and they will be paid;" he did so and received his money.

By this time I had been at the ranch two months. I told Hooker of my agreement to go back to the Post to act as interpreter for the Apache agency; and if he would loan me a horse I would send it back the first opportunity. He smiled and said you can ride your own horse. I looked at him in blank astonishment and said, "I've no horse, Colonel." He said, "You have a horse, saddle and bridle which you have been riding the past two months, what more do you want?" Thanking him for the gift I said I would pull out in the morning. He then went down into his pocket and handed me

\$90, saying, "Here is some money for expenses." I had a standing invitation from the Colonel to make his ranch my home at any time I wanted to do so. He was well liked by all his employees, and highly respected throughout the Territory.

John P. Clum and the military did not get on together very well—if the truth is told—Clum was a bit conceited and swelled up with his self-importance, all of which was plainly visible to the officers at the Post, as it was to the civillian who knew him as he was. Clum succeed[ed] in getting authority to remove all the Apaches from Fort Apache down to the Gila river; all but Chief Pedro's band of White Mountain Apaches; this band were allowed to remain at Apache. As before said, the northern tribes and the southern ones did not agree very well. Late in the evening of the 4th of July we pulled out of the old agency at Apache and made camp the first night at the foot of "seven mile hill." Someone set fire to the old buildings and we moved out in the lurid glare of the burning houses. Arriving at the Gila, another sub-agency was established about twenty-five miles above the San Carlos agency, which now became the main or head agency for all the Apaches on the White Mountain Reservation—John P. Clum agent. Hogue acted as sub-agent, and I was the interpreter and "doctor."

The "doctor" business came about in this way. Dr. White¹²⁵ was the regular doctor at San Carlos, but was inclined to be a bit lazy. Many of our Indians were sick with the "Goodwin Fever"; I went down to see Dr. White and told him of the conditions at our sub-agency. White said, "I can't go up there; can't you do the doctoring for them?" I could if I had the "dope." He fitted me out with a two-gallon jar of castor oil, and a quantity of quinine, etc., etc. With my "dope" I returned and strange to say I had eminent success as a "doctor." I provided myself with a sack of cube sugar, and with the children I always gave a cube of sugar if they would drink a tea-cup full of castor oil; this they

125. Banta repeats his statement in a letter to Farish, January 17, 1917, *Banta Manuscript* (State Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix) Clum in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* 3:407, mentions Dr. J. B. White, army surgeon, as acting agent at San Carlos by appointment of Agent James E. Roberts, in late 1873.

always did, tho with a grimace, and reach for the sugar. I was a successful practitioner. Ike Clanton furnished the beef for our sub-agency; where he got his beef deponeth sayeth not. Clanton was one of the Clanton¹²⁶ gang that raised so much h--l about Tombstone some years afterwards, and was finally murdered by a fellow named Brayton over on Black river. However, all the Clantons are dead.

Tiring of the eternal sameness and monotony of the position, I quit the Government service and hiked for Tucson. Coming back again to Camp Grant, near the southern base of the Graham mountain, I fell in with Nat Noble, Johnny Montgomery,¹²⁷ and two or three more of the boys; we all started for the San Carlos. Reaching old Camp Goodwin we all put up with Tom McWilliams,¹²⁸ who owned the place and was the postmaster there, the end of the line. That night all were drinking red-eye pretty freely—myself excepted—and did not retire until late. Mc was a heavy drinker at all times. In the morning the cook announced breakfast, but as Tom had not yet shown up we proposed to wait for him. We waited until about nine o'clock and he not appearing I went to his room to call him. Entering, I saw Tom lying as if asleep, his head resting upon his left arm. Going up I put my hand on his shoulder, but the moment I touched him I knew that Tom McWilliams was no more. We burried the corpse and I took charge of the postoffice. Notifying the authorities, I was ordered to take an inventory etc., etc. and run it until relieved by proper authority. Here I conceived the idea of having the line continued to Apache, Springerville, St. Johns and to Wingate. Writing up a petition to this effect I started out with it and secured signatures all along the line. H. S. Stevens¹²⁹ was our Delegate in Congress at this time. I sent my petition to John Wason at Tucson and asked for his and Governor Safford's co-operation. The line was established

126. See Note 140.

127. John Montgomery was a member of the 7th and 8th Legislative Assembly, representing Pima county. *Acts and Resolutions* (Tucson, 1873)

128. Tom McWilliams was an old pioneer of Arizona. He sold out his interests in the Salt River valley in 1869. He finally moved to Camp Goodwin "where he was appointed postmaster . . . in March of 1875." Barney, *Manuscript*, 2:112.

129. He is so listed in McCord, *Report*, p. 91, serving from 1874 to 1878.

but nothing became of it at the time, for the simple reason no bids were offered.

I now stopt at El Badito, now known as St. Johns, and on February 17, 1876, was appointed Justice of the Peace for the precinct of St. Johns.¹³⁰ My appointment was signed by Dr. Kendal, Fred Williams and _____, Supervisors of Yavapai county, "Uncle" Billy Wilkerson, clerk. At this time few whites lived in St. Johns; Sol Barth, Morris Barth, Nathan Barth, John Brophy, wife and step-daughter, Pat McGorrish and myself composed the white population; the rest were Mexicans from New Mexico. Yes, Jack Conley, his Mexican wife and children were there. Jack was an old soldier and had been discharged in New Mexico from the old Dragoons. He was a good fellow but simple and gossipy. Some of the Mexicans were hard characters and had declared that, "We don't want any alcalde here," and made threats to close up my court with the aid of six-shooters. Eddy Wells,¹³¹ now ex-judge Wells of Prescott, was then District attorney of Yavapai county; General Kautz¹³² commanded the department of Arizona.

At this time there was a standing order from the Secretary of War directing the military authorities to assist the civil authorities when called upon by the proper parties. Knowing this I wrote Wells of the present conditions at St. Johns and requested that he see General Kautz about the matter. He immediately called on the General at Whipple

130. This is confirmed by E. C. Bunch, pioneer in this part of Arizona, whose brief memoir is published in Farish, *Arizona*, 6:284-292. The names of many contemporaries are mentioned by Bunch.

Bunch writes of Banta: "When I came to Arizona, Banta was here writing up the doings of men, not even sparing the military officers, whose works were, sometimes, 'not in good form.' He is still here, 'kicking' against the trend of society, though he still believes there are greater evils abroad in the land than the 'Tango Dance,' 'Split Skirts,' or even the boys playing baseball on Sunday." *Ibid.*, p. 288.

131. Probably Edmund W. Wells who arrived in Arizona with the Goodwin party that established the first Territorial government. He had a prominent career as lawyer, judge, and legislator. Short biographical sketches are in Kelly, *Arizona*, pp. 341-42; Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:366; and Farish, *Arizona*, 4:269-71. At Banta's funeral services, Judge E. S. Wells called the names of the five scouts who guided the Goodwin party to Arizona. Banta was the last of them. *Precott Courier*, June 25, 1924.

132. August Valentine Kautz was a West Point graduate, commissioned July 1, 1852. He served with distinction in the War with Mexico and in the Civil War. He retired January 5, 1892, and died three years later on September 4. Heitman, *Register*. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 308.

and secured an order directed to the Commanding Officer at Fort Apache to furnish any assistance I may need to enforce the civil law. Wells sent me a copy of this order, and upon its receipt by me, I met Jack Conly and taking him aside, read the letter—much of it between the lines—telling him that this matter was confidential between us. Of course as was to be expected, it was not long until the “gun-men” had heard all about the “order,” and that if any of them made a break they would be sent up in irons to the guard-house at Fort Apache. Result of my *coup de etat*—nothing doing. There being at this time more whites at Round valley—now Springerville—than at St. Johns, and at their urgent request I was elected Justice of the Peace at that place in the fall of 1876.¹³³

In the meantime Johnny Behan, Troy McClery and Babcock (Slim Jim), had dropt into Round valley with a “race pony” with which they proposed to make a clean-up of the Mexicans at horse racing and otherwise. They met with indifferent success, however, and determined to go south again and take in the “feast” at El Paso, which was to come off on the 12th of the following month—December. Julius Becker had a small stock of goods he had purchased from Aleck Jordan, was engaged in merchandising and farming. One day Behan, McClery, Jack O’Neil, Babcock and myself were in Becker’s little store, and the boys were in need of a few supplies for their trip; it was proposed by Slim Jim—who was a pretty smooth guy—to try and win the wherewith off of Becker. Of course Becker never gambled any in his life and was very close besides. Jack O’Neil was to act as “stall.” Pretty soon Slim Jim had three cards on the counter, which he was tossing about. Jack wanted to know what sort of a game that was, and was told by Jim it was “mountain euchre.” Jack said, “I’ll bet five dollars I can guess the right card.” Jim carelessly threw the cards on the counter and Jack turned over one and it was the “right card” of course. “That’s dead easy,” says Jack, “Give us another layout.”

133. Banta later wrote that he did not qualify for the position because he went to Tucson when the legislature was dealing with the question of moving the capital from Tucson back to Prescott, the original location. *Prescott Courier*, June 21, 1924 (a clipping)

Jim made a few passes with the cards and then lay them down on the counter; he then turned his head away to expectorate on the floor; as he did this Jack O'Neil turned up one corner of the card on which he proposed to bet. Jim turned about and appeared not to notice the turned up corner, but picked up the cards and made a few passes with them and again laid down the cards.

All this time Becker was watching Jack's work on the card. He was a bit excited and wanted to know if he could bet now. Slim says, "Of course you can, but don't bet too high as I don't want to loose very much." The corner of the card still stuck up plain to be seen. Becker turned over the marked card, and strange to say it was another card and not the right one at all. Becker had bet \$35 on the card. Jack O'Neil had of course bet the five previously won. Becker nearly fell over with astonishment. Jim said, "We don't want your money but will take it out in trade," which they did. Then Jim told Becker never to bet on anyone's game again as he was sure to loose if he did. I suppose that was Becker's first and last bet at cards.

The Legislature was to meet at Tucson that winter and the boys asked me to go along with them as far as Pueblo Viejo, now known as Solomonville.¹³⁴ I had a mare and buggy and a colt from Hooker's fine horse Gold-dust. We started south and I never qualified at all for J. P. at Round Valley. Reaching Pueblo Viejo we parted company; the boys going on to El Paso, and I to Tucson.

Judge Ruggles¹³⁵ was a member of the Legislature from Pinal county, and after adjournment he asked me to accompany him to Florence; I did so and remained there for some

134. A company of fifteen Mexicans located at Pueblo Viejo [Old Town, or Settlement, in Spanish] in 1872. They so named the place probably because of the ruins nearby. The first American settler in 1873 sold out later to I. E. Solomon in 1876. Solomon located there when under contract to burn charcoal for the Clifton mines. A post office was established in 1878 with Solomon as postmaster. William Kirkland carried the mail on horseback. He named the place Solomonville. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:587. Solomon was prominent in politics during the 1880's. *Ibid.*, 3:653f. The detailed growth of communities in the central Gila valley is discussed in Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 223f.

135. Levi Ruggles was a member of the 7th Legislative Assembly. *Acts and Resolutions*; and of the 9th and 13th. Kelly, *Arizona*. He located at Florence in October 1868; "the patriarch of Florence." Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 264. A short biographical sketch is in *Ibid.*, p. 293.

time. The Judge and others wanted me to start a little newspaper at Florence. That summer the smallpox was very bad at Florence, especially among the Mexican population. Joe Colingwood¹³⁶ appointed me census marshal to take the school census of that district. I suppose no one else cared to take the job on account of the smallpox. I did the work and met perhaps an hundred cases of the disease; but I never had any fear of smallpox and thought nothing of the matter. Besides my mare and colt I had three other plugs of horses, and had them out at Granville Wheat's¹³⁷ ranch sixteen miles out of Florence.

Charly Mason,¹³⁸ owner of the Silver King mine, came in from Los Angeles, and being an old friend of mine since 1863, he wanted to know what I was doing at Florence. I told him of the newspaper proposition. He said, "Let those fellows go; I am going up to Globe on business; will be back in three days, and when I get back we will go into Los Angeles together and you can buy what you need for the office; I will pay for it, have it shipped to Florence and you can pay for it when you can; I have more money than I need anyway." He went off to Globe.

The following day Wheat came in from his ranch and told me my animals were gone; didn't know if stolen or not, but they had disappeared. I immediately went to a corral and hired a horse and going to the ranch struck their trail which I followed for about a hundred miles; I found all and returned to Florence. In the meantime Mason had returned and made inquiry for me but no one knew where I had gone. He took the stage back to Los Angeles and the next I heard of Mason he had died of smallpox shortly after he arrived at Los Angeles. *(To be continued)*

136. Joseph Collingwood opened the first store at Florence in March, 1869. Farish, *Arizona*, 6:49, citing Elliott, *Arizona*.

137. Granville Wheat was a California '49er who arrived in Arizona in 1859, settled at Florence in 1868, and was elected first Sheriff of Pima County. Farish, *Arizona*, 6:55.

138. Charles G. Mason was the first settler in Florence, building an adobe house in the summer of 1866. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 264. In company with Benjamin W. Regan, William H. Long, and Isaac Copeland, he discovered the famous Silver King mine. Mason bought out one of the partners, then sold his half interest to Col. James M. Barney for \$300,000. Hodge, *Arizona*, p. 119. Hamilton, *Resources*, p. 111 (2nd edition).

Notes and Documents

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, it has been brought to the attention of this body that FRANCIS C. WILSON, who was a member of the Historical Society of New Mexico, died on January 18, 1952;

AND THAT Mr. Wilson was a benefactor to the State and to those interested in its culture and history, as shown in his exercise of high civic virtues and specifically in his part in the founding and guiding of the Laboratory of Anthropology, and in many indirect ways;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this body deem it fitting to publish a formal expression of regret because of the loss which they and all concerned in the preservation of the State's great heritage have experienced.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary be instructed to enter this Resolution in the Minutes of this meeting of the Historical Society of New Mexico, thus formally assembled, and that he cause a copy of the Resolution to be delivered to Mrs. Wilson.

*Historical Society of New Mexico
January 23, 1952*

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, a vice-president, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendments shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

Organized December 26, 1859

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New Mexico Historical Review



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

April, 1952

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VOL. XXVII

APRIL, 1952

No. 2

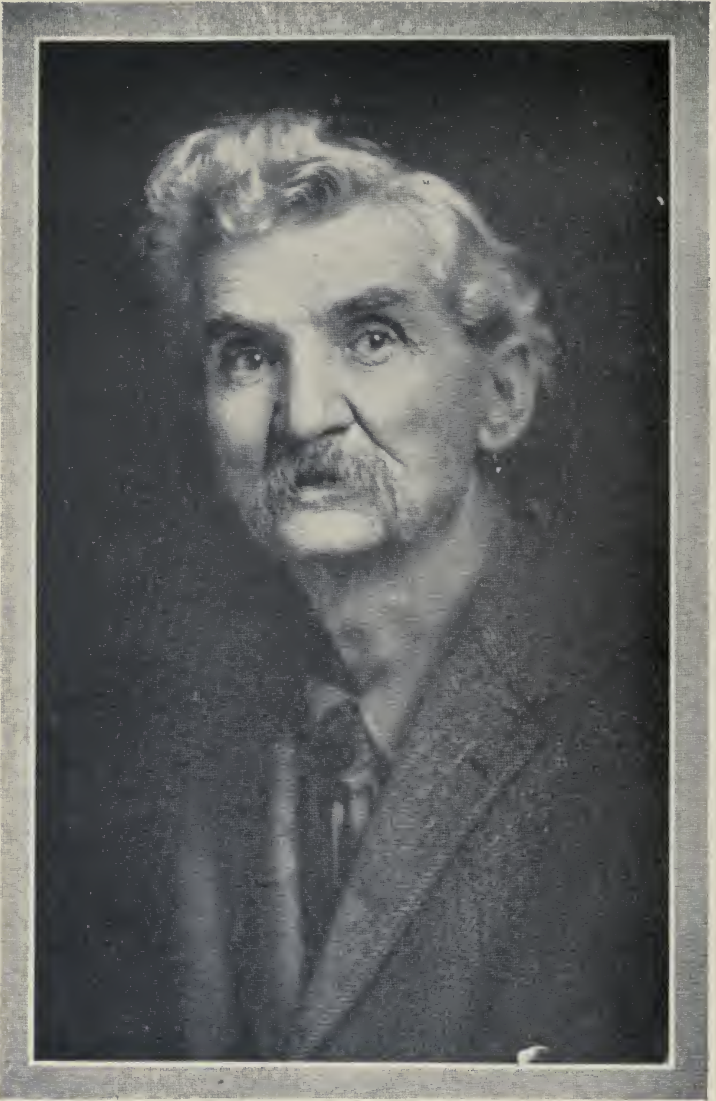
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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.



ALBERT FRANKLIN BANTA

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVII

APRIL, 1952

No. 2

ALBERT FRANKLIN BANTA: ARIZONA PIONEER

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

Introduction

ONCE A person has become acquainted with the life and adventures of Albert Franklin Banta, an unforgettable character has been added to the rostrum of pioneers who helped to lay the foundations of the western United States. Born in Indiana on December 18, 1843, he spent the bulk of his adult years in watching and creating the history of Arizona in the transition period between the horse-and-buggy days and the age of the automobile. He arrived in the Territory in 1863, the year of its creation, and remained there until his death except for a few brief excursions beyond its borders.

The western people who lived in the days of Andrew Jackson talked and acted in the belief that any citizen of sound mind was competent to participate in the affairs of the community and state. Formal education was not essential. Common sense, courage, initiative, and the respect of his fellow men were the basic prerequisites. This attitude and spirit lived on into the declining years of the century. Banta was its personification in his own lifetime.

With scanty formal education, this frontiersman turned to books when opportunity offered in order to broaden his knowledge, and he did quite well in that respect. Initiative he possessed without doubt, and courage was a characteristic displayed on more than one occasion. The respect of his associates he won and merited time and again; it is so revealed in his own writings, perhaps a bit boastfully, and

attested by others who have also left their thoughts in recorded form.

The one quality lacking in this pioneer that led some men to bury their roots deep in a given community was steadfastness. Banta was an activist. He was intellectually curious, adventurous by nature, and a rolling stone by inclination—whether the latter was an inherited or acquired characteristic cannot be said with certainty until the basic secrets of human behavior have been discovered by scientists. He did come of a long line of Americans whose roots reach back to the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and he was only one of several members of the family to leave their birthplace for other parts. However, rolling stone though he was, a little moss did cling to him in the course of time. The details can be found in his own words.

The manuscript of Banta's memoirs is housed in the Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott, Arizona. How it came to be there is not known to the present Director of that institution. Sharlot Hall may have been responsible. It is in typewritten form and was written by Banta himself in the late years of his life, or about 1918. He held a key to the office of the *Prescott Evening Courier*¹ where he spent many a Sunday and an evening when living in the Pioneer Home at Prescott. It is reasonable to assume that it was during those hours that he occupied himself with the story of his life.

The manuscript is typewritten, single spaced, marked with quite a number of corrections made by the typewriter and an occasional penciled notation, and is the original copy—not a carbon. It was done from memory so far as I know, especially the period before 1900 due to the fact that his newspaper business and records were destroyed by a great fire that gutted the downtown business district in that year.

Banta was equal to the task of recording his experiences from memory late in life. He himself states that he was seventy-five years old at the time of writing, and for a person of that age to recollect with accuracy the happenings of years past is often difficult; but a check of the manuscript against a variety of contemporary sources for the history of

1. *Prescott Evening Courier*, June 23, 1924 (Editorial)

Arizona reveals a high degree of accuracy in regard to names and events. Furthermore, at the time of his death, there is first-hand testimony that "His mind was as clear almost as a man in his prime."²

The one part of his life that he gives no direct information about was the matter of marriage. But there was a Mrs. Banta and a daughter Mildred. The mother taught school at Pinedale in the year 1898, but whether before and after that date there is no information at hand. Daughter Mildred is known only in one newspaper item.³

For access to the manuscript and for additional help from time to time, I am indebted to Mrs. Eva (A. H.) Favour of Prescott, staunch supporter of the Sharlot Hall Museum. Mrs. Favour is an excellent example of a civic-minded citizen who devotes time to the promotion of worthwhile community affairs. The Sharlot Hall Museum has been her especial interest. A variety of historical material is housed there, and more than one student of history has profited thereby.

The manuscript is here printed without change except in certain respects that were considered advisable. For instance, the capitalization and punctuation which followed no discernible form have been tampered with, and paragraph indentations added to ease the path of the reader, although the story itself is engrossing enough to make the latter change only helpful, not essential. As for spelling, the words are left as written except for obvious typographical errors. In the footnotes, a reference is cited in full when first used; thereafter it is cited in abbreviated form. In place of *op. cit.* I have preferred to use when possible a footnote number for cross reference.

Lest the reader be momentarily puzzled, I mention at this point that Banta for a number of years went by the name of Charles A. Franklin. The fact is explained in a footnote to the text. I have no reason to believe that it was a discreditable matter. On the contrary, his character was fundamentally admirable. Long before the time of his death,

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Flagstaff Sun-Democrat*, August 26, 1897; *Journal-Miner*, October 4, 1897; *The Argus* (Holbrook), March 3, 1898.

he had earned the respect of his contemporaries to such an extent that there could be no doubt about his place in their hearts and minds. As was written, "There was a pride about this fine character that was beautiful to see. He asked no odds of anyone, and his independence was so marked that only those closest to him would think of giving him financial aid when his purse ran low. He paid his debts, kept his word, and was honest and true."⁴

Banta entered the Arizona Pioneer Home at Prescott in 1916, but he was still active enough to venture forth for an occasional trip and to busy himself in the office of the newspaper. He passed away June 21, 1924,⁵ at the age of eighty-one. Only a short time before, Judge Wells of Prescott had spoken of Banta at a meeting of the Boy Scouts as one of the scouts and guides who had accompanied the pioneer expedition that laid out the first capital of the Territory and instituted civil government: "He is the last one," the speaker said, "and you can see him about town with his cane, with his clear and fearless eyes turned toward the distant hills, silent, lonely, and waiting—waiting for the last call."⁶

Lonely he might have been, but if so, he had many recollections to enrich his thoughts during the last years. The variety of his experiences was more than ordinary. His contribution to the history of Arizona is obvious. In fact, it is probable that several tid-bits of history can be found nowhere else than in his memoirs. But for character, experience, and commonwealth building, let Banta's own story be the proof.

Banta's Memoirs

I WAS born in Warrick county, Indiana, December 18, 1843, and at this writing am seventy-five years of age. For generations the Bantas have been pioneers; first of Kentucky, then of Wisconsin, and lastly of Arizona in the person of the writer, who came to the Territory of Arizona in 1863. My parents, being pioneers by heredity, migrated

4. *Prescott Evening Courier*, June 23, 1924 (Editorial)

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

to the Territory of Wisconsin in 1846. In those days there were many Indians in the Territory, mostly Chippeways and Kickapoos, the last named had their habitat in the country between the Wisconsin and the Kickapoo rivers. The battle of Bad Ax,¹ however, broke the war spirit of those Indians. My father went into the pine forests of the East fork of the Kickapoo river where he engaged in the lumber-logging business; the logs were cut during winter, hauled to the banks of the river, and in the spring, during the flood season, were drifted down the Kickapoo to its junction with the Wisconsin, where a boom was put in and the logs were rafted and then floated down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and thence to St. Louis or other points. Brought up in the woods, I had no opportunity to attend any schools, and the little I received was in little log cabins having puncheon floors and slab seats; these school cabins were in the woods, but were centrally located, I suppose. The totality of my schooling consisted of twelve months, three months in each year, and the last three months of school I was eleven years old; since which time I never saw the inside of a school-house, as a pupil, to the present day. However, and notwithstanding my lack of "shoolin," I have graduated plenty in the "High School of Experience."

I have followed almost every occupation under the sun, from bull-whacking and mule-skinning down to politics, with one notable exception, stage robbing. All those well acquainted with me will say that I possess all the necessary qualifications of the Knight of the Road; nevertheless, that particular line of endeavor never appealed to me; yet, I actually engaged in politics without going to the penitentiary—lucky me. My first step in politics was that of Constable at Wickenburg in 1869, A. H. Peeples, Justice of the Peace. This office not paying enough to set me up in the banking

1. The Battle of Bad Ax occurred near a stream of that name where it empties into the Mississippi river in the state of Wisconsin. The fight was the culmination of the last struggle of the Sauk and Fox Indians under Chief Black Hawk to retain a foothold in their ancestral lands east of the river. For several accounts by participants in the campaign, see State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Collections*, 10:150-230 (Madison, 1888)

business, I quit it and began work for Uncle Sam as guide and scout for the military at Fort Whipple.² Next job was Inspector of Customs in the Custom House at Tucson.³ In 1872 General O. O. Howard⁴ established the Indian Reservations, and the newly appointed agent for the White Mountain Agency sent for me to take charge of the Indian supplies at Fort Apache.⁵ I quit the Custom House and hiked for that Post. My next job was Deputy Sheriff of Pima county. While in this position I made a trip into Sonora with requisition papers upon the Governor of that state for the extradition of murderers; Don Pancho Serna⁶

2. The discovery of gold in the region of Prescott, Arizona, led to the establishment of Fort Whipple near Postle's ranch, twenty-four miles north of Prescott, December, 1863. The location was changed to the left bank of Granite Creek, one mile northeast of Prescott, May 18, 1864. Named in honor of Major General A. W. Whipple, the reservation was transferred to the Secretary of the Treasury for use in the Public Health Service in 1922. General George Crook: *Autobiography*, edited by Martin F. Schmitt, p. 173 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946) For further details see General Land Office, *Report*, June 30, 1876, p. 19 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876) Surveyor General of New Mexico, *Annual Report*, August 31, 1880, p. 450 (46 cong., 3 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, pt. 5., vol. 1). General James H. Carleton's correspondence relative to the gold discovery and the need for a post has been printed in Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, 3:4-23 (Phoenix, Arizona, 1916). The Journal of the Walker party that opened the Prescott gold mining development has been published: The Arizona Statewide Archival and Records Project, *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1941)

3. I have not been able to verify this statement concerning employment.

4. General O. O. Howard's part in promoting the peace policy of President Grant in the early 1870's can be read in R. H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1846-1888," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 15:40-71; also published as vol. 9, *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History* (1940)

General Howard's visit with Chief Cochise in the latter's stronghold in the Dragoon Mountains was engineered by Thomas J. Jeffords, a close friend of the Indian, whose career is the basis of the historical novel, *Blood Brother*, by Elliott Arnold (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1947) See *Note* 103.

5. Fort Apache was located on the south bank of the east fork of the White Mountain river. It was selected as a camp site by Major John Green, commanding officer of Camp Goodwin. The latter post was broken up because of the high incidence of malaria and Fort Apache was established as a temporary camp in 1870. In 1873 it was made a permanent station, successively named Camp Ord, Mogollon, Thomas, and finally Apache. The post was abandoned in 1924 and turned over to the Indian service for school purposes. Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 165. For additional details see Richard J. Hinton, *The Hand-Book to Arizona*, pp. 308ff (San Francisco and New York, 1878) Surveyor General of New Mexico *Annual Report*, p. 449 *op. cit.*, Secretary of War, *Annual Report*, p. 189 (Washington, 1889) *Ibid.*, p. 373 (Washington, 1893)

Hinton was probably a newspaper man. He drew his information from a varied bibliography, "Verified by actual observation and examination."

6. Pancho Serna, or Francisco Serna, was a participant in the political disturbances in Sonora, Mexico, during the 1870's. He became governor in 1876 and again in 1879. H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, 2:702 (San Francisco, 1889) Further details can be found in Don Ramón Corral, *El General Ignacio Pesqueira: Reseña Histórica del Estado de Sonora*, pp. 105ff (Hermosillo, 1900)

was Governor at the time. At this time Bill Brazelton was making it interesting for the stage coaches, but more so to the passengers who joyfully threw up their hands at the polite invitation of Bill. The honorable Bill was a great big, good natured fellow; and, except when on business, as harmless as any man could be.

My next move was up to the northeastern part of Yavapai county where I went to look after election matters for "Steve,"⁷ who was a candidate for re-election to Congress. While up there was elected Justice of the Peace; this office I held for several terms, the first term by appointment in 1876. The session of 1879 created Apache county,⁸ and provided for a special election to be holden on the first Monday in June, same year. At this election I was elected District Attorney for the balance of '79 and '80. At the fall election of '80 was elected Probate Judge; this office I filled for two years and one month. At the election of 1882 was elected to the Legislature—lower house—known as the Twelfth Session.⁹ In the meantime also served as Deputy Assessor and collector of taxes. My time expiring with '84, I was laid upon the shelf until the election of 1888, when I was again elected District Attorney for the years '89 and '90. Going out of office again, I engaged in the business of brok-[er]age and exchange, and incidentally doing a little banking business. However, the election of Grover [Cleveland] in 1892, put the kybosh on our little scheme of banking—everything went to the "demnition bow-wows." I had been an ardent supporter of Grover, and to be so grossly treated by my friend must have made me a bit "nutty," as soon there-

7. "Steve" was probably Hiram S. Stevens who was elected Territorial Delegate in 1874 and 1876. 8th and 9th Legislative Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions* (Tucson, 1875 and 1877) He also served in the 5th, 6th, and 7th Legislative Assembly. Joseph Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:551. George H. Kelly (State Historian), *Arizona 1864-1912: Legislative History* (1926)

The *Fish Manuscript*, in three parts, is housed in the State Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona. The author brings his story down to 1905. He secured some information at first hand and relies on early histories of Arizona.

8. The 10th Legislative Assembly, meeting at Prescott in January, 1879, created Apache County. Solomon Barth and A. F. Banta were active in securing passage of the legislative act. Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 83. 10th Legislative Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions* (Prescott, 1879)

9. Banta is recorded as C. A. Franklin in the 12th Legislative Assembly, *Laws of the Territory of Arizona* (Prescott, 1883) See Note 40.

after I went into the business of starting newspapers, the last being the "*Observer*"¹⁰ at St. Johns, Arizona. N. B. All were Jim-Crow papers, and edited by a frontiersman or a "come cuai quiere."¹¹

Having had quite a bit of military experience, I conceived the notion of making soldiers out [of] National Guard material; to this end I organized a company, and for three years did my best to work them into soldiers. It was useless. I resigned my commission. The National Guard, as a military unit, is a farce pure and simple. Nine-tenths of the men consider it a social institution and nothing more. Subsequently, Myron H. McCord was appointed Governor. I was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of Cavalry upon his staff;¹² this too seemed to me most ridiculous and I never furnished myself with a uniform.

One's genealogy which runs backward for many generations without a break or bar-sinister is a matter of pardonable pride; yet there are many persons who turn up their snouts—for the same reason as the mule—and cynically insinuate "egotism." As a general proposition, this class of persons dare not attempt to trace their pedigrees—having none to trace—for fear that too soon they would bump up against a "natural," which would be rather humiliating to their present "pride of place."

My father's name was John Fulton Banta,^{12a} born in

10. There is no question about Banta having been a newspaperman, and at an earlier date. As listed in Estelle Lutrell, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona, 1859-1911* (University of Arizona, *General Bulletin 15*. Tucson, 1950), he helped in issuing the *Miner* at Fort Whipple in 1864; connected with the *Tucson Citizen* 1871 and in 1874; *Yuma Sentinel*, 1872-1873; established the *Arizona Pioneer* at St. Johns, 1882; edited the *Holbrook Argus*, 1895-96; likewise the *Pick and Drill*, 1897-99; the *Douglas Dispatch*, March to September, 1902; and the *St. Johns Observer*, 1910-1911. There is further evidence in later footnotes.

11. Should probably read, *come cual quiere*, meaning "one eats as he wishes." Banta may be trying to say that a newspaper man goes to work when it is essential to earn a living.

The two capital letters N. B. are probably for the Latin words *nota bene*, which mean, note well.

12. Banta is listed as Lieutenant-Colonel, aide-de-camp, National Guard of Arizona, in *Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 89 (Washington, 1897)

12a. Banta's dates for his grandfathers do not correspond with those provided by the genealogist of the family, as follows: Epke Jacobse Banta came from Holland in 1659; his third son, the first of the Henrys, was born in Holland in 1655; the second Henry, January 13, 1696; third Henry, 1717 (moved to Kentucky); fourth Henry, no

Bourbon county, Kentucky, October 12, 1818. My mother's name was Phydalia Ann Fuque [Fugary], originally Fuque in French, and was born in Indiana, January 13, 1828. Grandfather Banta, Henry IV, [VI] was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, November 20, 1786. He married Jennie Fulton, eldest sister of General Sam Fulton; my grandfather's eldest sister—Marguret Banta—was married to General Sam Fulton. My seventh grandfather, Henry I, was born in Herlengen, Holland, 1653. My sixth grandfather, Henry II, was born in New Jersey in 1675; my fifth, Henry III, was born in New Jersey, January 23, 1696; grandfather Henry IV, born in New Jersey, 1718; Henry V, also born in New Jersey in 1740; the sixth Henry was born in New Jersey in 1763; [?] came to Kentucky in his teens. My grandfather, Henry VII, was born in Shelby county, Kentucky, November 20, 1786, and his eldest son, Henry VIII, was born in Kentucky, August 15, 1809; he was the last of the Henrys, and was the 8th generation of Bantas in America.

Collins' *History of Kentucky*,¹³ speaking of the Bantas, says: Henry Banta, Sr., Henry Banta, Jr., Abraham Banta

date; fifth Henry, January 23, 1762; sixth Henry, no date, served in War of 1812, moved to Indiana from Kentucky, married Jennie Fulton; his *second* son, John Fulton, married Fidelia Ann Fugary in 1842, moved to Wisconsin; their first son was Albert Franklin, born, December 12, 1843. Mrs. Mary B. Spell to Reeve, New York City, January 30, 1951. Mrs. Spell is "a member of the N. Y. Genealogical & Biographical Society, Long Island Historical, Westchester County Historical, etc. They will vouch for the authenticity of any information I may give you." Spell to Reeve, November 15, 1950 (46 Commerce St., New York 14, N. Y.)

13. The following are the only references that I could find in the work cited by Banta: ". . . White Oak stations . . . was situated about a mile above Boonsborough, in the same bottom of the river, and was settled in 1779. The settlers were composed principally of families from Pennsylvania—orderly, respectable people, and the men good soldiers. But they were unaccustomed to Indian warfare, and the consequence was, that, of some ten or twelve men, all were killed but two or three." Lewis Collins, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* . . . pp. 421f (Published by Lewis Collins, Maysville, Ky., and J. A. & U. P. James, Cincinnati, 1847) Some of the men mentioned by Banta were also named in the above sketch.

"*The First Dutch Emigration to Kentucky*, in a group or company, was in 1781, to White Oak Spring Station, on the Kentucky river, 1 mile above Boonesborough—Henry Banta, Sen., Henry Banta, Jr., Abraham and John Banta; Samuel, Peter, Daniel, Henry, and Albert Duryee; Peter Cosart or Cozad, Fred. Ripperdan, and John Fleuty." Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2:523 (Covington, Ky.: Published by Collins & Co., 1874. 2 vols. Revised, enlarged four-fold, and brought down to the year 1874, by his son, Richard H. Collins)

The quotation immediately above is to be found also in the reprint of 1882, p. 523. In addition, the following can be read: "*Early Stations*.—In the fall of 1779 and

and John Banta, located near Boonsborough at which place Captain Dan Boon had settled with his family in about 1775. While this section of Kentucky was all forest and inhabited by Indians, the Low Dutch colony came and located upon land now in and around where Pleasureville is now situated. The land was then owned by Sq[u]ire Boon, brother of Dan Boon. The colony purchased 15,000 or 29,000 acres from Sq[u]ire Boon, and some of the descendents of this colony now reside on portions of this same land. The Bantas, Bergins and Shucks still own the lands of their ancestors, together with many old relics and documents which they value very highly. These documents show that those Dutch pioneers in the wilds of Kentucky purchased thirty lots of land varying in size from two hundred acres upward, which was paid for in pounds, shillings and pence. This is followed by a list giving the number of lots or parcels of land, the sum paid, and the names of the several purchasers. Of the thirty names given, one-third of the number were Bantas. However, the hostilities of the Indians forced them to leave, but they returned again.

The History says: "About ten years before the final settlement was effected, Captain Daniel Banta, Cornelius Banta and John Banta, Sr. followed the "trace" leding from Harrod's Station in Mercer county, to Hoagland's Station in what was afterwards Shelby county. At this point they plunged into the wilderness and built a cabin. This was, beyond doubt, the first cabin built in the limits of the Dutch Tract. The Bantas, while on their hunting expeditions, saw much of the tract of land afterwards purchased by the Dutch Colony; this was in 1774. However, the Indians became so hostile they were forced to retire to Hoagland's Station. This Fort had few defenders and was short

spring of 1780, seven different stations were formed on Beargrass creek. These were Falls of the Ohio, Linn's, Sullivan's Old, Hogland's, Floyd's, Spring and Middle; and in Jefferson county, in the course of the next four years—Sullivan's, Sullivan's New, Daniel Sullivan's, Fort Steuben, Floyd's 2nd, New Holland, Poplar Level. . . ." p. 359.

For a more extensive genealogy of the Banta family, consult Mrs. Mary B. Spell (Mrs. John Spell), 46 Commerce St., New York 14, N. Y. Mrs. Spell is a member and has a genealogical history of the Banta family. A brief biographical sketch appears in Farish, *History*, 2:240-41. Farish records Banta's birth for 1846, but the correct date is 1843, December 18.

of supplies, and daily threatened by the Indians. Finally it became a question of massacre unless help could be obtained from Harrod's Station. Captain Jake Banta, an officer of the Fort (a brother of the other Bantas) volunteered to perform the dangerous mission. He started in the night but never reached the Fort for he was tomahawked by the Indians; this done, they took his own tomahawk and buried it in his skull, and this ended the career of the brave Captain Jacob Banta. The loss of this brave and resourceful man was deeply felt by the frontier settlements. The Banta Family were both dreaded and hated by the Indians. Being men of wonderful strength and constitutions and brave to a fault, they had taught the savages many lessons in their own mode of warfare." The foregoing account clearly proves that the Banta family have had much to do with the "noble red" during the past one hundred and forty-six years, ending with the writer who represents the 9th generation of Bantas in the New World.

William Arthur, in his work *Origin of Names*, says: "The name Banta is very ancient." Kemble, in his work, *The Saxons in England*,¹⁴ page 149, has the following: "A very remarkable document of Eádberht, [King of Kent], is preserved in the Textus Roffensis; after the king's own signature, in which he calls himself Rex Cantuariorum, his nobles place their names, thus: 'Ego Wilbaldus comites meos confirmari et suscribere feci,' and in the same words Dimheahac, Hósberht, Nothbalth, Banta, Ruta and Tidbalth sign. Now the fact of these persons having *comites* at all is only conceivable on the supposition that they were all royal kings or sub-kings." The above document is given in full in *A Hand-book to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, by John Earle in which he says: "After the signatures of the grantor, several other signatures follow who use the same royal style, in that they make their *comites* to confirm and subscribe."

Mr. Kemble has dwelt on this deed as conclusive evidence

14. The quotation is essentially correct. John Mitchell Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, I:149 (London, 1849)

I made some minor corrections in the quotation. I have not checked the Arthur or Earle publications.

of the plurality of Kings in Kent at this date, April, A. D. 738. The Bantas were natives of Friesland, Holland, and in the fifth century the Frieslanders joined with the Saxon and Angles in an invasion of Britain, but the battle of Hastings in A. D., 1066, established a new regime in England under the Normans, and the once conquerors of that Island were in turn conquered and forced to return to their own or former domain, *sic transit gloria mundi*.¹⁵

At the breaking out of the [Civil] war, I was seventeen, and a member of the Missouri militia. There were two companies in our town and these were ordered to rendezvous at Jefferson City. Our two companies left in April, 1861, going down in a small steam ferry-boat. I had a little old single-barreled pocket pistol, and being an unsophisticated country boy, I imagined myself armed like a pirate. A big burly bully of the other company kept up a perpetual nagging of me until I became exasperated. I tried to avoid the skunk; told him to let me alone, but to no purpose. Finally I shoved my pistol between his eyes and pulled the trigger; the pesky thing snapped. Like all bullies he was a white livered cur, and fell back white as a sheet. In my time I have met several of his kind, and never saw one, when he bumped up against a real man, but what was a rank coward. He bothered me no more after that little incident.

About 5,000 troops were gathered at Jefferson City; in the meantime General Nat Lyons had taken Camp Jackson near the St. Louis Ars[e]nal, and sent a peremptory order to Governor Claiborne F. Jackson to at once disband his State forces. The Governor was for making a fight, but General Price advised compliance with the order; the troops were ordered home, and there to await "further orders."¹⁶

Having had a taste of a new life, other than the woods, I took a step that caused me much trouble thereafter; one day a steamer came along—two steamers—they stopped for

15. So passes away the glory of the world.

16. Captain Nathaniel Lyon in command of the United States Arsenal in St. Louis forced the surrender of the southern forces located nearby at Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861. The demand for surrender was presented to Brig. Gen. D. M. Frost in command of the Camp. The detailed story is in John McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri* (Washington, D. C., 1913)

wood and I went aboard. There were several companies of the Three Months Volunteers on these boats and were en-route for Lexington, farther up the river. The men persuaded me to join them and I did; was afterwards mustered out at the arsenal at St. Louis. Returning to the Missouri river bottoms I was surprised at the change that had taken place; changed so materially that I was obliged to sleep out in the bush for my health's sake.

Along in the fall a steamboat stopt at a woodyard to take on wood, and I slipped aboard and went up to Leavenworth, Kansas. Here I hired to whack bulls across the plains; this was in 1862. Made the trip out and back; then went to Lawrence, Kansas, where I worked on the *Kansas State Tribune*, owned and edited by John Spear. The following spring of 1863, I went down to Kansas City, Missouri, where I was immediately arrested for a Quantrell spy.¹⁷ At time of arrest by fifteen or twenty soldiers, one of them cocked his gun and placing the muzzle against my head, said: "I'll blow your d—m brains out." I shore was up against it, good and plenty, but there was no use in weakening so I replied: "You are a lot of brave men when you have one disarmed; yes, d—ed brave." Needless to say, he did not shoot, otherwise I would not be writing these memoirs. That night I occupied a bare room with two sentries on guard, one inside and one outside of the room. I heard the Lieutenant give orders that if I moved in the night to shoot me down, and this would have been done beyond doubt. Under these circumstances—not a bit hilarious to me—I dare not go to sleep lest I should move in my sleep; I lay down in a corner of the room and kept my weather eye on that sentinel the whole night. The following morning I was taken before Colonel Thompson, and proved by a young lawyer from Lawrence who happened to be in the city, and I accidentally saw in a stationary store as I passed on my way under guard to Thompson's office. He testified that "I saw this young fellow in Lawrence when I left there two

17. A detailed account of William Clark Quantrill, his life as a border ruffian before and during the Civil War, is set forth in William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (The Torch Press. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910)

or three days ago." Of course I was ordered released, but the Colonel seemed put out because, I supposed, that I was not a spy; and as the country was under martial law, I asked for a pass, but it was refused me and I was ordered to "get out."

Being thoroughly disgusted, I determined to leave the country and go to Old Mexico. I hit the road for Westport, a small town a few miles south of Kansas City. I had heard of some Mexican trains that were encamped near Westport. However, before reaching that town, some soldiers arrested me again and took me into Westport. Again I was a Quantrell spy; all seemed to be obsessed with the Quantrell bogey. Here I was surrounded by about an hundred soldiers, and regardless of my protests that I had been released by Colonel Thompson only a few hours ago, it cut no ice with that bunch. All crowded about to get sight of the "spy." Looking over the crowd I saw a big fellow in civilian dress pushing his way thru the soldiers. He was an entire stranger to me; had never saw him in my life before, but the situation was desperate, something had to be done and that quickly too. That "something" which had done me a good turn on several occasions, put it into my head to address him as Smith. This I did and singularly to relate, Smith was his name. He seemed surprised, but pushed his way in saying to the soldiers, "I want to speak to this fellow, and I will be responsible for him." The big fellow took me across the street and into a saloon—none of the soldiers followed. After entering the saloon he said, "Look here young fellow, you don't know me; how came you to call my name?" To this question I replied: "No, I never saw you before today, but you saw the fix I was in; I had to do something." After telling him of my previous arrest and release, that I had come down from Lawrence, he said, "Look here young fellow, I know lots of people in Lawrence, particularly the 'Red Leg'¹⁸ and I am a member

18. "Jayhawkers, Red Legs, and Bushwhackers are everyday terms in Kansas and Western Missouri. A Jayhawker is a Unionist who professes to rob, burn out and murder only rebels in arms against the government. A Red Leg is a Jayhawker originally distinguished by the uniform of red leggings. A Red Leg, however, is regarded as more purely an indiscriminate thief and murderer than the Jawhawker or Bushwhacker. A Bushwhacker is a rebel Jayhawker, or a rebel who bands with others for the purpose of preying upon the lives and property of Union citizens. They

of that band. Now I shall ask you a few questions and if you fail to answer them, well, you know the consequences."

He then asked me to name any of the Red Legs that were in Lawrence when I left there. I said, Jeff Davis, Hull, Beauregard, Captain Hoyt and others were there when I left. "Correct, come out." He then told the soldiers to let me alone. He was their guide and scout and seemed to have much authority over them. This was a great relief, and my "something" had again saved my life.

I immediately joined a Mexican train for New Mexico. Mark Twain, in his *Innocence Abroad* says that on reaching Italy his vocabulary of Italian consisted of four words, "*quantas costa tупpo caro.*"¹⁹ My Spanish, the second day in camp, fell but one short of Twain's. It consisted of three words, *si, no* and *carrajo*.²⁰ Shortly after this I had my first tast[e] of *chili con carne*. One evening at supper we had what I supposed was stewed tomatos. I had never saw *chili* up to this time, and when one of the Mexicans made signs to help me to the supposed tomatos, I held out my plate and he filled it. Of course I took a large spoonful at once.

are all lawless and indiscriminate in their iniquities. Their occupation, unless crushed out speedily, will end in a system of highway robbery exceeding anything which has existed in any country. It excites the mind, destroys the moral sensibilities, creates a thirst for wild life and adventure which will, on the restoration of peace, find gratification in nothing but highway robbery.

"Every thief who wanted to steal from the Missouri people counterfeited the uniform of the Red Legs and went forth to pillage. This gave the organization a bad name, and much of the plundering done along the border was attributed to them, when, in fact, they did little in that line themselves. There were some bad characters among them—very bad. But they were, generally, honest and patriotic men. They finally hunted down the men who falsely represented themselves to be Red Legs, and they killed every man they found wearing the uniform without authority." C. M. Chase to *True Republican and Sentinel*, Leavenworth, August 10, 1863, quoted in Connelly, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, p. 412.

In the membership of the Redlegs were:

"George H. Hoyt, captain, the lawyer who defended John Brown at Charlestown, Virginia."

"'Jeff Davis,' Captain Bloomington Swain, from New York State. Was mustered as captain of Company K, Fifteenth Kansas, October 10, 1863. 'Jeff Davis' was a nickname, but how he acquired it is not now known."

"'Beauregard' Jack Bridges. Little known of him. Is said to have been part Indian and to have been raised near the Shawnee Mission, in Johnson county, Kansas." *Ibid.*, p. 414.

19 *Quantas costa tупpo caro*. I do not find this statement in Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*.

20. Yes, no, and damn. *Carrajo* can have a more vulgar meaning; it depends upon the time and place when used.

Chile con Carne is chilli (a red pepper) with meat.

Good Lord! I gagged, spluttered, choked and the water ran out of my eyes at a great rate. When I recovered my breath I wanted to know what the devil it was I had swallowed. Colonel J. Francisco Perea,²¹ the owner of the outfit, was educated in English, but supposing I knew what the infernal stuff was, had said nothing at the time, but now told me it was *chili con carne*. I replied, "You may call it that, but I call it liquid fire." Since then, however, I have learned to eat it in every shape, and the stronger the better.

After a long and tedious trip, passing thru many Indian tribes in the night, we finally reached Bernalillo, the home town of the Perea on the Rio Grande. Here I rested up at the Colonel's house a few days. With a letter of introduction from the Colonel to a friend of his at Albuquerque, named Don Tomas Gutierrez,²² I hit the road one Sunday morning for Albuquerque. At this time, June 20, 1863, Albuquerque had but one street which was the old stage road from Santa Fe to Franklin, Texas. The Territory of New Mexico was under martial law, and all strangers were obliged to report to the Provost Martial [marshal], otherwise they went to the military guardhouse. Of the military²³ stationed at Albuquerque at this time was battery A, 3d Artillery; two companies of the 5th Infantry. Lieutenant Johnson was Provost Martial [marshal]. H. S. Johnson—blue Johnson—who had a Mexican wife, John Hill, the U. S. Deputy Marshal; "Jew" Smith, Doc. Strahn [W. F. Strachan?], Arron and Bill Zeckendorf, Charles and Louis Hunning; Melchior Werner was the Postmaster. This list comprised about all the

21. Colonel Jose Francisco Perea was a member of a prominent New Mexican family. He favored the Union cause during the War, engaged in military expeditions against Indians, served as Territorial Delegate to Congress, and held public office in New Mexico. He was educated in St. Louis, Missouri. For further details, see Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, p. 399 note (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912).

22. Thomas C. Gutierrez is listed as a Probate Judge, Bernalillo county, 1883-4, in *History of New Mexico*, 2:528 (Pacific States Publishing Co., 1907)

23. Several companies of the 5th Infantry were under command of Colonel E. R. S. Canby in operations against the Confederate troops invading New Mexico in 1862, but I find no mention of any artillery units at Albuquerque in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 2:408 (2 volumes, Washington, D. C., 1903); there were some artillery units under Canby's command at the battle of Val Verde.

whites in Albuquerque ²⁴ when I reached there Sunday morning, June 20, 1863. H. S. Johnson had a little paper called the *Rio Abajo Press*, and I began work on this paper the following Monday morning at 50c per thousand. ²⁵ I worked the paper off on a little "army press" for a time and until Johnson sent to Philadelphia for a small Washington hand press. This press I put up and was the second printing press ²⁶ ever put up in New Mexico—the *Santa Fe Gazette* being the first press in that territory. Of course I still had Old Mexico in my head, but Colonel Perea had advised me not to go down there yet for a while, not until my Spanish had gone beyond *carrajo*, etc. etc., this is why I had stopt at Albuquerque. After I had put up the little Washington press, I think almost every woman and child in town came to the office to see the curly haired boy work that wonderful machine.

The return of the Pishon party, ²⁷ reporting the gold finds of the Walker party, got everybody by the heels, and all wanted to rush to the gold fields. General James H. Carleton, commanding the district of New Mexico and Arizona, ordered a large expedition out to Arizona to take possession of the country and to establish a military post ²⁸ in the neighborhood of the Joe Walker party. This military expedition comprised sixty bull teams, six mule teams and three ambu-

24. These early settlers of Albuquerque and a few others are discussed in *History of New Mexico*, 2:528f (Pacific States Publishing Co., 1907)

25. See Note 115.

26. The first printing press in New Mexico was set up in 1834 at Santa Fe by Ramón Abreu. Antonio Barreiro published for a few months a paper entitled *El Crepúsculo de la Libertad*. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The History of Early Printing in New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 4:372-412 (October, 1929)

Hezekiah S. Johnson was the editor of the *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*. It was first published January 20, 1863. The name was changed to *The New Mexico Press*, July 19, 1864. A file of the paper up to October 4, 1864, is housed in the library of the Historical Society of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. M.

Banta states that he learned to set type a little in Missouri before going west. Banta, *Manuscripts* (State Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona)

27. See Note 2 concerning the gold strike.

Nathaniel J. Pishon was Captain of Co. D, 1st Regiment Cavalry, California Volunteers. Enlisting February 24, 1862, he was mustered out at Fort Whipple with his company on November 23, 1864. Brig.-Gen. Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1867*, p. 117 (Sacramento, 1890)

The Pishon party left Albuquerque on July 16, 1863, arrived on Granite Creek (where Fort Whipple was located), August 16, and returned to Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, in September. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:340.

28. See Note 2.

lances. The wagons were loaded at Fort Union²⁹ with commissary and quartermaster supplies. This outfit pulled out of Union October 5, 1863, with orders to rendezvous at old Fort Wingate. The real start was made from Fort Wingate³⁰ and the expedition as a whole was two companies of California Volunteers—F and C, 1st Reg., also Captain Pishon and a part of his company. The officers³¹ were Major Willis,

29. Fort Union was established July 26, 1851. James McKinley to Sam G. Bratton, War Department, The Adjutant General's Office, September 12, 1929. It long served as the headquarters and depot of the military district of New Mexico. *The Official Correspondence of James C. Calhoun*, ed., Annie H. Abel, pp. 382, 417 (Washington, D. C., 1915) Secretary of War, *Report* (1852) 32 cong., 2 sess., sen. ex. doc. 1, pt. 2, p. 73 [659]

There were two forts constructed, the first of logs, the second of adobe which was located a short distance away from the first site in latitude 35° 54', longitude 105° 9', in Mora county, New Mexico, some nine miles from the station of Watrous on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. The post reservation was 51.5 square miles; timber reservation, 53 sq. miles. It was built to accommodate 30 officers and 349 men with additional accommodations at the arsenal for 3 officers and 1 troop of cavalry. Secretary of War, *Report* (1893), 53 cong., 2 sess., vol. 1, p. 385 (Washington, 1893)

"We had not been particularly comfortable at Fort Union, but we were sorry to leave. We liked the old log quarters, up towards the hills, much better than the new adobe houses, planted right down on the plain, which was swept by the winds all summer long." Lydia Spencer Lane, *I Married a Soldier or Old Days in the Old Army*, p. 165 (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1893)

See Thomas J. McLaughlin, *History of Fort Union, New Mexico* (Master of Arts Thesis. University of New Mexico, 1952. Ms.)

30. Old Fort Wingate was located on the Rio Gallo in 1862 as a base of operations against the Navaho Indians, the site being selected by Colonel Canby. J. H. Carlton to A. G., Sept. 30, 1862, New Mexico Historical Review, 8:37 (January, 1933). The post was named in honor of Captain Benjamin Wingate, 5th Infantry, U. S. A., who died of wounds received in the battle of Val Verde, New Mexico. X to Editor, Fort Wingate, June 1, 1863, *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, June 23, 1863.

31. Major E. B. Willis was in command of the military expedition despatched by General Carleton to establish Fort Whipple. Farish, *History*, 2:250. He enlisted as 1st Lieut., Co. A, 1st Inf. Reg., California Volunteers, at Orville, California, on August 15, 1861. He attained the rank of Major, May 5, 1863, and was mustered out of service with his regiment at Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 5, 1864. Orton, *Records*, pp. 335-336.

Henry M. Benson enlisted at San Francisco, California, August 16, 1861, with the rank of 1st Lieut., Co. I, 1st Inf. Reg., California Volunteers. He was promoted to Captain of Co. F, July 16, 1863, and was mustered out of service at Los Pinos, New Mexico, August 31, 1864. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

Joseph P. Hargrave enlisted at San Francisco, California, August 16, 1861, with the rank of 1st Lieut., Co. F, 1st Inf. Reg., California Volunteers. He was promoted to Captain, Co. C, June 23, 1862, and was mustered out of service at Los Pinos, New Mexico, August 31, 1864. *Ibid.*, 346.

William Nelson enlisted at Oroville, California, August 15, 1861, with the rank of Sergeant, Co. A, 1st Inf. Reg., California Volunteers. He reenlisted at Fort Union, New Mexico, October 21, 1863, and was promptly promoted to the rank of 2nd Lieut., Co. F. He was mustered out of service at Santa Fe, October 16, 1864. *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 359.

Edgar Pomeroy enlisted at San Francisco, California, August 28, 1861, as Sergeant, Co. D, 1st Inf. Reg., California Volunteers. He was advanced to 1st Lieut., Co. C, July 7, 1863. *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 350.

Banta is quoted at length on this expedition in Farish, *History*, 3: 31ff.

Captains Benson and Hargrave, Lieutenants Nelson and Pomeroy, Dr. Lieb and wife. I had joined this expedition at Albuquerque in humble capacity of bullwacker.

We reached Chino valley and established Fort Whipple there on the 21st of December, 1863. Here I was employed to herd the cattle belonging to the Q. M. department. Had some words with Nelson and was discharged. However, Nelson shortly after left the post for Tucson on private business and Sergeant Baker put me on herd again. The Lieutenant having returned from Tucson and finding me again employed, must find some excuse to fire me again. My chum was a young fellow on sheep herd. Sergeant Lockwood ordered the guard to kill one of the sheep that had a broken leg. The soldiers gave my pard a piece of the meat. The next day the Provost Sergeant arrested both of us and we were put into the guardhouse. We remained under guard, doing fatigue work, for five days with no charges preferred against us. On the fifth day, Captain Joe Hargrave came on as officer of the day, and I spoke to the Captain and asked why we were under arrest. He examined the guard book and seeing no charges said, "I will look into this matter." Shortly after the Provost Sergeant took us before Lieutenant Taylor³² the Provost Marshal. After telling us we were arrested for "killing and appropriating government property to our own use" we were ordered out of the Post and to go at once. The soldiers told us not to go, and said "We will see that Taylor, the 'scrub' does not molest you." We did not go, but soon after Governor John N. Goodwin³³ and party arrived at the

32. There are several Taylors listed in military records, but I judge this man to be one of the following: Captain McCleave Griffith Taylor, Lieutenant in the California volunteers during the Civil War and resident of Prescott, Arizona, in 1884. *History of Arizona Territory*, p. 252 (Wallace W. Elliott & Co., San Francisco, California, 1884); Hereafter cited as Elliott, *History*. Edward G. Taylor enlisted August 16, 1861, and served as 2nd Lieut., Co. F, 1st Inf. Reg., California Volunteers. He was promoted to 1st Lieut., June 23, 1862. Orton, *Records*, p. 359.

33. John Goodwin was appointed governor of the Territory of Arizona August 21, 1863, and took the oath of office on December 29, serving until April 10, 1866, thus overlapping his term of office as Territorial Delegate when elected to that post in September, 1864. Rufus Kay Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State*, pp. 166f, 179 (Hobson & Herr, Phoenix, Arizona, 1950). This publication is the most recent and best single volume history of Arizona. See also Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 17, and Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:361f. The activities of Goodwin are recorded in Farish, *Arizona*, vols. 2, 3, 4 *passim*.

post and established the temporary capital of the Territory at Whipple. Secretary R. C. McCormick³⁴ had brought out a small printing outfit and started the *Arizona Miner*,³⁵ a monthly publication. T. E. Hand came out to run the thing. I help[ed] get out the first two issues of the paper.

Sometime in April Governor Goodwin selected the townsite, which was surveyed by Colonel Bob Groom³⁶ and Van C. Smith, and afterwards named Prescott. Previous to this the placer miners on Granite Creek became "public spirited;" took a day off, held a meeting, and dubbed their camp "Goodwin" in honor of the Governor. The "Goodwinites" endeavored to persuade the Governor to locate the capital in their "city," but he decided in favor of the site where Prescott now stands. After the survey, the Governor's outfit moved up to the new townsite. Fort Whipple was moved up, and the old camp at Chino valley was renamed Camp Clark³⁷ in honor of the Surveyor-General of New Mexico. Before the selection of the townsite, the miners camped on some high ground north of Sam Miller's³⁸ ranch, and of course there

34. Richard C. McCormick came to Arizona with Governor Goodwin as Secretary of State. He succeeded to the governorship in 1866, serving meanwhile after Goodwin had been elected Territorial Delegate and until April 7, 1869. Wylls, *Arizona*, p. 167 *passim*. He is credited with proposing the name of (William Hickling) Prescott for the first capital of Arizona, and designing the Territorial seal. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

The Hon. E. W. Wells, in a speech before the Prescott Library Association, February 27, 1877, sketched the early history of the first capital of Arizona. He mentions some of the same persons who are named in Banta's sketch. Farish, *Arizona*, 3:190-199.

35. This press and newspaper became a storm center of Arizona politics. James M. Barney, *Manuscripts*, 1:9 (This typewritten ms. in 3 vols. is housed in the Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona). Farish, *History*, 3:46. The publisher's correct name is Tisdale A. Hand, *Arizona Miner*, March 9, 1864.

36. Robert W. Groom was elected Recorder for the Walker mining party when they laid out their district in the Prescott region. Van C. Smith was the first Sheriff of Yavapai county. Farish, *Arizona*, 2:310; vol. 3 *passim*.

37. John A. Clark, Surveyor-General of New Mexico, made an extensive reconnaissance across Arizona in 1863. That is, he accompanied the Pishon party to the scene of the gold strike near Prescott; he also located a mining claim. *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Districts. Annual Report*, Santa Fe, September 30, 1863. 38 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 90 [1182].

38. Sam C. Miller arrived in the Prescott region as a member of the Walker mining party in 1863. He acquired a ranch a mile north of the capital and served as a member of the House from Yavapai county in the 9th Legislative Assembly. Elliott, *History*, p. 302. D. E. Conner, *The Walker Expedition in Arizona*. (This account was written by a member of the Walker party and printed about 1913). Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:434. He is listed as S. G. Miller in Kelly, *Arizona*, but as S. C. Miller in Territory of Arizona, *Ninth Legislative Assembly* (Tucson, 1877). *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Districts*.

was no ranch there at that time. In this camp was Charley Mason, Sugar-foot Jack, myself and many more.

Sugar-foot was an English convict from Van Diemen's Land. He had escaped and made his way to California where he enlisted in the California Volunteers, but was discharged for thievery. Jack came out as a bullwacker. The rascal was as brave as a lion even if he was a notorious thief. On one occasion George Goodhue from Lexington, Mo., and three other fellows from Colorado, were over towards Granite mountain on a prospecting trip, and on their return to Prescott were attacked by Apaches, and at the first fire Goodhue fell dead, the three Colorado fellows fled. Jack made a fight alone and with his two six-shooters he whipped the fight. Our brave (?) boys from Colorado reached Prescott and reported they had a hard fight with the redskins and that Goodhue and Sugar-foot were killed. In five minutes a party was on their way to the scene of the fight; there they found Jack smoking his pipe by the dead body of George.

Loren Jenks had the first hay contract for Whipple after its removal up to its present site. "Poker" Johnson took a sub-contract and established a hay-camp below the "rocks." At this camp I was employed by "Poker" (after I herded stock for R. E. Farrington ³⁹ all winter at \$7.50 per month) to scout about the camp and look out for Apaches, \$75.00 per month. The hay was cut with hoes and at that sort of work the men could not keep an eye for reds. The late John H. Behan—my partner and chum—was here cutting hay, also a Mr. Giles, and others besides a number of Mexicans. This was in July, 1864, and while in this camp the first election was held and Giles was elected to the 1st Legislative Assembly. No one in the camp voting, I of course did not vote as I was not of legal age, but cast my first vote in 1866.

One Sunday a hay-cutter named Henson was out not far from camp, perhaps a quarter of a mile, where he was jumped by Apaches and he killed one with his pistol. The

39. Rufus E. Farrington, a rancher near Prescott, arrived at the scene of the Walker gold strike either late in 1863 or early in 1864. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:341. He was there at least as early as January 9, 1864. *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts*, p. 124.

shot was heard in camp and when he came in the boys asked what he had shot at. He said, "I shot an Apache; he fell and I think I killed him." A few days afterwards I was over the same ground and seeing some buzzards flying around there, I made an examination and found the dead Indian.

Speaking of Apaches, when I was herding for Farrington, sometimes I carried an old Dragoon holster pistol, loaded at the muzzle with powder and ball. This I carried in my hand, muzzle down. One day I got sight of three Apaches making off with three burros; I started for them and they turned up a can[y]on [cañon]. To head 'em off, I cut across the small mountain. When I reached the top the Apaches had left the burros in the canon, and were hiking for Granite mountain. The funny part about this thing was, a day or two afterwards I was in the "rocks" and met a mountain lion. The brute was not more than twenty feet away with its head towards me, waving his tail back and forth. To make a sure shot I knelt down to rest on my knee. I pulled the trigger and the pesky thing snapped. I examined the pistol and found no load in it. I had been hunting Indians and lions with an empty gun. Many times I lit my pipe at Indian fires while herding the stock. Back of our camp was a small volcanic butte. At night the Apaches would go there and look down upon our camp. I saw their track here on several occasions and made up my mind that I would do some night work too. One night, without saying a word to anyone of my intention, I took my rifle—an old muzzle loading squirrel gun—and went up the top of this butte. In due time the Apaches came. There was no moon and I had to shoot at random, and those reds were badly frightened if no more.

After the hay was "dug," Charley Beach had the contract to haul it to Whipple. The bullwhackers were Berry Dodson, Dave and Sam Smilley, Charly Washburn, John H. Behan, Dan White and "C. A. Franklin."⁴⁰ In the summer

40. Banta went by the name of Charles A. Franklin for a number of years. After serving in the 12th Legislative Assembly, he took steps to have his name changed to Albert Franklin Banta. *Phoenix Herald*, January 16, and February 18, 1884, citing the *St. Johns Orian Era*. *Arizona Gazette*, January 17, 1884. This episode in his life

of '64, Jim Fine and Ely Puteney located and built a little rock cabin above the "rocks." After we had finished hauling the hay, Beach had the teams taken to the Fine-Punteney cabin. A corral of cottonwood poles was built about the cabin. The bars of the corral were stuck thru holes in the cabin near the corner next to the door, and at night a log-chain was wound around these bars close up to the cabin. Sleeping in the cabin that night were Beach, Fine, Punteney, Henson, Behan and the writer. The cabin was about 8 x 10, with no window and only a blanket for a door. Sometime in the night the little dog began barking; this awakened Henson and myself. Henson got up and raising the blanket looked out. At this moment the pup gave a sharp yelp and all was quiet. I asked Henry what's up? and [he] said a coyote, perhaps, but hearing nothing more he lay down and we again went to sleep. The next morning we found the log-chain unwound, the bars down and every hoof of the cattle gone. The little dog was lying dead with an arrow thru its body not more than fifty feet from the door of the cabin.

Up at "Gimletville," the name derisively given to Goodwin by the Prescottites, were two restaurants. One was kept by the "Virgin Mary" and the other one by a man named Jackson. The "Virgin" had come up from Tucson with "Nigger Brown," and had brought a dozen or two goats with her. Both restaurants had drawing cards. The "Virgin's" pull was goat's milk for coffee, and Jackson's was his sixteen year old step-daughter. As between the two "cards," I think goat's milk had the stronger pull.

In those early days greenbacks were at a discount. The gold standard prevailed. Bacon was a dollar and a half per pound in gold, or three dollars in paper money, and the same price for coffee and sugar; flour was fifty cents in gold, or a dollar a pound in paper. A pair of the most ordinary boots cost \$25 in gold. At this rate I bought no boots, but made moccasins. The winter of 1864-65 found me in Prescott. John P. Burke and a man named Hollister were running the

may have had its origin in the informal manner that he followed in severing relations with the Missouri militia as related above. Banta wrote that the District Court changed his name. Banta to Hon. W. H. Hardy, St. Johns, Arizona, January 24, 1889 (State Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix)

Prescott House on Granite street. Here I was general factotum about the place. That winter the first mail came in from La Paz, brought in by a Mr. Grant who left the same at the hotel. I put the few letters behind the bar and gave them out to anyone calling for them. Hence I handled the first mail entering Prescott. Afterwards, by common consent, it was turned over to "Parson" Reed.

The most dangerous man in Prescott at this time was A. G. Dunn. He had killed a man in Oregon, [was] sent to the pen, but thru influential friends had secured his release and came to Arizona. In town were two "Sols;" Little Sol and Black Sol. Black Sol and Dunn had some words over a Mexican woman, and Dunn had threatened to kill Black Sol. Dunn never carried a pistol, but did carry a small ballard rifle at all times. The little Jew armed himself with two big six-shooters, and being rather diminutive in stature, the muzzles of the two pistols whacked against the calves of his legs to the amusement of everybody. One evening the "woman in the case" was at the cabin of McMahan who had a Mexican wife. Mc was an assayer. Black Sol also put in there to, and pretty soon someone in the house saw Dunn approaching. The Jew was frightened, and crawled under the bed. Dunn had no idea that the Jew was there and entered the room, put his gun in a corner and sat down on a chair leaning back against the bed. Mc, fearing trouble should Dunn discover the presence of the Jew, came up to the hotel after the Sheriff. Burke was under-sheriff and with a pocket derringer returned with Mc to the cabin. He walked close up to Dunn and fired his pistol, shooting Dunn thru the left shoulder. Dunn jumped to his feet and made for his gun. Burke fled out of the door. As he ran Dunn fired and shot the stock off the pistol in Burke's right hand, the ball passing thru Burke's thumb. It happened Dunn had no more cartridges, and after firing at Burke he sat his gun down against the wall of the cabin on the outside and stood there with his back against the house. In the meantime Burke had gone to the hotel and reported matters to the Sheriff, Jerome B. Calkins.

The Sheriff, accompanied by Charly Ott, went to the Mc-

Mahn cabin, both armed with six-shooters. Dunn saw them approaching, but made no move nor said a word. At the proper shooting distance Calkins turned loose his gun, he shot the second time and again the third time. Still Dunn made no move, nor opened his mouth. The Sheriff then went up to Dunn, supposing that he had missed the fellow all the time, and placed him under arrest. Coming to the hotel, Dunn partially gave way from loss of blood; then it was that the Sheriff knew he had hit Dunn. The wounded man was brought into the hotel and laid upon the floor. Dr. John T. Alsop did something for the man, but advised sending for Dr. Coues at the Fort. Coues came up and plugged up Dunn as best he could, but thought the man had no chance to live. Dunn said, "Doctor, are you through?" and then called for the drinks, saying, "I'll live to get even with those fellows." And strange to say he did. I sat up with Dunn that night all the time looking for him to die. Coues came up the following morning and to his surprise found the man alive. He said to Dunn, you have great vitality and have a chance to recover. To this Dunn smiled and said, off [of] course I will, and did recover.

Along in the Spring of '65, Major Staples,⁴¹ a paymaster in the army, paid off the troops at Whipple; with an escort of California Volunteers [he] started back to his headquarters in Santa Fe. Several parties took advantage of the escort to return to New Mexico. Among those going back were C. W. Beach, George Cooler, Burk[e] and myself, and myself and perhaps a few others.

We followed our old military trail via Chino valley, Hell Canon, Rattlesnake tank, Bear springs, Volunteer springs, Antelope springs (present site of Flagstaff), Coconino tanks, Walnut tanks, Little Colorado at the mouth of Canon Diablo [Devil Canyon] and so on. It was on this trip while up on the Mogollon mountains I had an experience with a grizzly bear. It was sometime in the month of April, '65, this trip was made. We had a six-mule wagon for baggage and grub;

41. This officer might have been Samuel Chester Staples, additional paymaster of volunteers, September 15, 1862. He was appointed from Connecticut and mustered out of service on July 20, 1866. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

the escort were cavalry men and the Major road [rode] a horse. Early one morning I started ahead of the outfit on foot, the weather being fine and the ground dry. I had gone perhaps a quarter of a mile or more when I heard the snort of a bear over to my right in a little ravine. Having no shooting irons with me at the time I stopt still in the road. Presently the huge beast came up the road, probably forty feet in front of me. He was so close I could see his eyes blink and his nose twitch. The country was covered with big pines but no under-brush. The big brute first sniffed a few times and then stood up on his hind feet. He was so close that I was obliged to look up to see his eyes. Not a thing intervened between us—nothing but the smooth road. He sniffed, turned his head from right to left and back again. He could smell the mystery, but could not see what it was. All animals are like the human animal; they fear a mystery. They fear the intangible, hence the fear of ghosts, spirits, etc., etc.; so it was with this bear. However, being a bear, and a grizzly at that, he was not going to run away with fear; the grizzly never runs from a fight. I stood as still as a statue, watching his eyes and nose working, knowing all the time he could not distinguish me from an inanimate object, although he could smell me all the time. But like the human he was not going to investigate the "mystery." Of course I could not help smiling at the big brute, but took good care not to smile out loud. After a minute or two sniffing, he got down on all fours and walked slowly away, turning his head back two or three times for a distance of perhaps thirty feet. He then got up on his hind feet again and did some more sniffing. He got down and walked away again, this time going a bit farther, but did not get up on his hind feet again, but turned his head and looked back, always ready to fight if there was anything to fight. Still like the human; a man will fight to the death with the tangible, but pit himself against the harmless intangible and he is at once an arrant coward. All animals are the same and will run away, excepting the grizzly bear; he will not run but will walk away for a distance and then gallop off; so did my bear at this time. (*To be continued*)

TEDDY'S TERRORS: THE NEW MEXICAN VOLUNTEERS OF 1898

By CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER*

ON THE morning of February 16, 1898, the news of the sinking of the United States Battleship Maine, at Havana, Cuba, reached the office of Governor Miguel Antonio Otero at the capital city, Santa Fe, New Mexico. This came as a shock to the Spanish-Americans of the city and the territory. They were aware that serious trouble had been brewing for months between the United States and Spain, but the remoteness of their lives removed them from the daily excitement of and contact with yellow journalism which made the Spanish American War a more active reality for the East.

Almost immediately rumors spread that some of the people of New Mexico were not loyal; other reports stated that New Mexico sympathized with Spain.¹ The Governor suppressed these rumors and the inquiries which grew out of them with a strong affirmation of loyalty of the territory, and, in response to an inquiry made by the *New York World*, he wrote in part, "In anticipation of War, the New Mexico National Guard, in many localities, are drilling night and day."²

In the first week of April, 1898, the Governor offered Secretary of War, R. A. Alger, in case of war with Spain, the "immediate service of a full regiment of cavalry, nearly all of whom are of Spanish descent, and that more will follow if needed."³ The secretary gratefully acknowledged the offer and promised to communicate later.⁴

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(Author's Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all research material was found in newspapers of the year 1898.

1. Otero, Miguel Antonio, *My Nine Years As Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* (cited hereafter as Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor, etc.*), Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1940, p. 35.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 36. "Indignant New Mexico," *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colorado), April 26; "Unjust To New Mexico," *Ibid.*, April 27.

3. "Cavalry from New Mexico," *Fort Collins Courier* (Fort Collins, Colorado), April 14.

4. *Ibid.* Otero, *My Nine Years as Governor, etc.*, p. 38.

About two weeks later all military companies of the National Guard received orders to recruit to full strength, and at the same time volunteers in considerable numbers offered their services for active duty.⁵ Some immediate problems were of prime consideration. The border to the south was unprotected since the regular troops were taken from New Mexico, and there existed also the danger of Indian and bandit raids. Governor Otero suggested in a telegram to the Secretary of War that Forts Bayard and Wingate be garrisoned with New Mexico volunteers and that the border be patrolled. He described his men as follows: "Our volunteers are excellent horsemen, first-class marksmen, and are all accustomed to hardships of camp life, and a large proportion speak both Spanish and English. They will be ready on short notice and are anxiously awaiting orders to go wherever sent."⁶ The Honorable H. B. Fergusson, delegate to Congress, was requested to bring this notice to the attention of the Secretary of War.⁷

That other movements to use cowboy volunteers were afoot is evidenced in an interesting item in the newspapers, several weeks before the statement made by Governor Otero. This came from the adjacent territory of Arizona and may have been an impetus to the later action of New Mexico. The item appeared under the heading of "Western News:"

A movement is underway for the formation of an independent cavalry regiment, composed mainly of frontiersmen well skilled in the management of horses and arms, and embracing a large number of cowboys. Companies are being organized at Prescott, Flagstaff, Phoenix, Globe, Solomonville, Tombstone and Tucson. The intention is to be no wise a part of the territorial militia, but an independent command ready to go to the front at once. The enrollment is expected to reach 1,000.⁸

5. "Regiment of Western Sharpshooters and Cowboy Rough Riders," *Denver Republican* (Denver, Colorado), April 24; "New Mexico Cowboys," *Ibid.*, April 26; "Recruiting in Albuquerque," *Ibid.*, April 27; "Cowboy Regiment Recruiting," *Ibid.*, April 27; "New Mexico Riflemen," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 27.

6. *Santa Fe New Mexican* (Santa Fe, New Mexico), April 22; See "Fear Indian Attacks," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 23; "New Mexico Asks Protection," *Denver Republican*, April 26.

7. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 22.

8. *Fort Collins Courier*, March 3. See "Arizona Cavalry Regiment," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 14; "Arizona Regiment of Cowboys," *Denver Republican*, April 19; "Denver the Rendezvous," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 24; "Mr. Brodie is Commissioned," *Ibid.*, April 26.

On April 24, the following headline points the direction of Otero's suggestion: "Volunteers Galore. Offers For Active Service Pouring In On Governor Otero From All Over New Mexico. Recruiting The Maximum. National Gunrds [sic] Ready On Call—Two Thousand Men Could Be Had On Short Notice. . . ."⁹

J. H. Tiffany of Silver City requested the authority to raise a troop of cowboy cavalry in Sierra and Grant counties and suggested the men be mustered in as United States volunteers for service in Cuba or wherever they might be needed.¹⁰

This enthusiastic appeal to create a cowboy cavalry from the New Mexico volunteers was answered the following day, April 25, 1898, with the official declaration of war between the United States and Spain. On the same morning the Governor received the following telegram from Secretary Alger:

Washington, April 25, 1898.—The president directs that Captain Leonard Wood, United States army, be authorized to raise a regiment of cavalry as mounted riflemen, and to be its colonel and has named Hon. Theodore Roosevelt as lieutenant colonel. All of the other officers will come from the vicinity where the troops are raised. What can you do for them? Answer immediately.

R. A. ALGER
Secretary of War.¹¹

The dispatch was answered:

R. A. Alger, Secretary of War.

Telegram arrived. Have full squadron of cavalry ready for service. Prefer to send them as cavalrymen but probably can transfer as mounted riflemen, if necessary. Can raise battalion of mounted riflemen in about a week. Can you take squadron of cavalry and battalion mounted riflemen in addition?

MIGUEL A. OTERO
Governor.¹²

9. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 24. See "A Cowboy Company," *Denver Republican*, April 26; Otero, "My Nine Years As Governor, etc.," p. 39.

10. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 24.

11. *Ibid.*, April 25. The *New Mexican* commented, [Captain Leonard Wood] "is a captain and assistant surgeon in the regular army. . . . He is said to be a physician and also a man of superior military education and ability. It is understood, that he is the attending physician at the White House." See "Commander of the Cowboys," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 26.

12. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 25.

Later that day, the Governor received another message from Secretary Alger: "The squadron of cavalry will serve as mounted riflemen equipped and armed by the United States for this special service. Extra men may be wanted but at present only 340 men can be taken."¹³

Thus the Cowboy Cavalry, the New Mexico Volunteers of 1898, began to take shape. Governor Otero, according to a comment in the newspaper which reported the above dispatches, had already made preparations to organize the squadron—the enlistment and muster of the men to take place in the capital.¹⁴ This momentous day and occasion could not pass without a facetious comment, such as appeared under the heading of "Minor City Topics:" "There is talk around town of organizing a bock beer brigade for service in the war with Spain. They could certainly be the loudest fighters in the army."¹⁵

The following morning Governor Otero received another telegram from the Secretary of War in reference to the mounted riflemen. The three hundred and forty men would form four companies of the regiment under Colonel Wood, and all equipment, arms and mounts would be furnished by the United States. He ended the message tersely: "Want every man a picked man."¹⁶

An enthusiastic account in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* shows that the qualifications for the New Mexico volunteers were many and diversified:

The four troops of mounted riflemen being organized in New Mexico for service in Cuba, will in many respects be the most noted volunteer squadron ever enlisted. Every man is to be picked with reference to special qualifications. He must be a good shot, be able to ride anything in the line of horseflesh, a rough and ready fighter, and above all must absolutely have no understanding of the word fear. The primary object of the organization of such a body of soldiers is to teach the civilized world that America possesses a class of men who, when armed and brought face to face with an enemy, never quit fighting until victory or death comes. To belong to New Mexico's

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, April 26. See letters of Governor Otero and Secretary R. A. Alger concerning the cowboy regiment, *Las Vegas Daily Optic* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), April 26; "For Roosevelt's Regiment," *Denver Republican*, April 28.

mounted riflemen as a private is an honor which will be looked upon as beyond that of a commissioned officer in many another organization of volunteers, and one which will place a premium upon the places on the enlistment roll.¹⁷

Colonel Wood left Washington immediately for New Mexico and Arizona to organize a regiment of cowboy cavalry.¹⁸ However, efforts had already been made in that direction. A message from George Curry of El Paso instructed the adjutant general's office that he would have fifty men at Las Cruces by the following Monday, and that fifteen cowboys under C. L. Ballard, deputy United States marshal, came from the Pecos valley.¹⁹ Mr. A. M. Bergere, a clerk of the First Judicial District Court in Santa Fe, was physically disqualified to serve in the volunteers but demonstrated his patriotism to the Governor in a magnanimous offer: "I have on my ranch about 800 good horses and I would be pleased to tender 100 of these through you to the United States government free of charge."²⁰

Newspapers divulged that the Governor had secured Santa Fe as the rendezvous for the volunteers, a fact which caused an unfortunate controversy between the *Santa Fe New Mexican* and the *Albuquerque Citizen*. A rumor in the *Citizen* that the volunteer rendezvous was to be moved from Albuquerque to the capital city was reprinted in the *New Mexican*. Readers of the *Citizen* asked, "What is the matter with Delegate Fergusson?" As his constituents, they questioned his actions, for presumably he ignored their telegrams concerning the location of the rendezvous.²¹

To call upon the delegate to Congress who had nothing to do with military affairs was foolhardiness; the Governor alone, as commander-in-chief of the territorial forces, had the authority to make these decisions. The *Santa Fe New*

17. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 28.

18. *Ibid.*, April 28.

19. *Ibid.*, April 28. George Curry was appointed Captain of Troop H, the only New Mexico company of Rough Riders who did not go to Cuba. Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor, etc.*, pp. 42, 52.

20. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 29.

21. *Ibid.* See "New Mexico Cowboy Volunteers," *Denver Republican*, April 29; "Greeting to Cowboys," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 30; Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor, etc.*, pp. 39-40.

Mexican, in an attempt to settle the matter, issued the following statement in the form of a warning:

It is reported that officers of the National Guard of New Mexico in Albuquerque and probably one or two other places are taking it upon themselves to criticise the acts of their supreme officers and of the commander in chief. Such acts are military offenses and liable to punishment by court martial. The law under which officers and enlisted men of the New Mexico National Guard are enlisted or commissioned is amply strong for this purpose and officers should remember that Governor Otero is commander in chief and as such, from a military standpoint, his acts are above criticism or cavil. No foolishness will be allowed or tolerated, and the law and regulations will be rigidly enforced in such cases as come before the notice of the officers.²²

The same newspaper "pulled no punches" in another account:

There is no rumor about this. It is an accomplished fact. The best interests of the service and of the territory demand that the rendezvous for the New Mexico volunteers be at the seat of the territorial government and Governor Otero having presented the matter to the proper authorities in Washington clearly and forcibly, Santa Fe was selected for the purpose named. It was not a question of towns, it was a question of what was the best for the country. The Citizen need not pour out the vials of its wrath on Delegate Fergusson's devoted head, the delegate's tow line is not nearly as long or as powerful as that of the governor's from Santa Fe to Washington. That's all.²³

But that was *not* all! The discontented faction in Albuquerque, smarting under the turn of events, proceeded to criticize the volunteers, called them "tenderfoot cowboys" and predicted "that very few of them would pass muster."²⁴ Captain Max Luna, who had commanded Troop F First Cavalry at Las Lunas, was in direct charge of the volunteers, and he and these volunteers were the target for some special criticism from the *Albuquerque Democrat*. This criticism did not escape the notice of the *New Mexican*, which answered in part:

As a matter of fact, Captain C. L. Cooper [U.S.A. mustering officer] today complimented Captain Luna on the splendid physique of his men and expressed great satisfaction at their deportment. Out

22. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 3.

23. *Ibid.*, April 29.

24. *Ibid.*, May 2.

of 15 men examined this forenoon 13 were accepted for service and even better results are anticipated from further examinations.

Citizens of Santa Fe are highly indignant over the cowardly course pursued by the Democrat, and the feeling that the perpetrator of such a dastardly outrage merits severe punishment, is general. A man whose patriotism runs so low that he can see nothing commendable in the action of a person who offers to sacrifice his life on the altar of his country's honor and glory, is a yellow cur of the most despicable variety and his contracted brain, if he has such an article, has never experienced a respectable honorable motive.²⁵

The criticism of the volunteers by the *Albuquerque Democrat* as "hobo volunteers" brought several strong, patriotic, sentimental and threatening protests from the citizenry of Santa Fe. There were also comments concerning the physical appearance of the volunteers as "fine specimens of physical manhood," "huskiest specimen of manhood," "great, big strapping young men," and "fine riders, excellent shots."²⁶

In his book, *The Rough Riders*, which first appeared as a serial in *Scribner's Magazine*, Theodore Roosevelt expresses his opinion: "They were a splendid set of men, these Southwesterners—tall and sinewy, with resolute, weather-beaten faces, and eyes that looked a man straight in the face without flinching. They included in their ranks men of every occupation; but the three types were of the cowboy, the hunter, and the mining prospector. . . ."²⁷

Several days later, a "loyal" New Mexican sent a telegram to the *New York World*, which in no way eased the tense situation:

Roosevelt's cowboy regiment is liable to be a fake. The members of the regiment, so far as New Mexico is concerned, are being recruited in railroad towns. Probably not 10 per cent of the men

25. *Ibid.* According to a letter from Governor Otero to Thomas Hughes of Albuquerque, the *Democrat* criticized the volunteers from that city; however the Governor assured Hughes of the fine quality of the men from Albuquerque. The group included Hughes' son, who had passed the physical examination that same afternoon.

26. *Ibid.*, May 3. The editor of the *Albuquerque Citizen* comments: "The war department is hereby notified that a rebel sheet in this city is ridiculing recruits in the volunteer service and calling them "drunken stiffs," a charge which is absolutely and maliciously false. The owner of the sheet is a foreigner and he should be given instructions to keep his hands off the conduct of this war, which is not his fight." "Glance At Our Neighbors," *Denver Evening Post* (Denver, Colorado), May 6.

27. Roosevelt, Theodore, "The Rough Riders," (cited hereafter as Roosevelt, "Rough Riders,") *Scribner's Magazine* 25, January, 1898, p. 11.

recruited ever were cowboys in their lives, and I doubt if one-fourth of them ever rode a horse. Lincoln county, New Mexico, of which I am a resident, is one of the chief cattle counties of the Territory, and not the slightest effort has been made to enlist a single cowboy. This statement I stand by, regardless of what may be said by those in authority. A large proportion of the applicants for enlistment are foreigners, while the cowboy element is purely native born.

EDWARD J. MURRAY.²⁸

During the first ten days of the month of May, patriotic songs, sentimental poetry and lusty cheers appeared in the capital city newspaper in considerable numbers. Appropriate words were written to the songs "Good-bye My Lover, Good-bye," and "Marching Thru Georgia,"—the latter popularly known as the "Cuba Libre Song."²⁹ The following piece of sentimental poetry typifies the stress and concern of the time:

"A blare of bugles through the land
 "'To horse!' the call; 'tis full and clear.
 "A loosening of hand from hand;
 "A teardrop's fall; a kiss so dear!
 "A father's clasp, a mother's prayer,
 "A rose hid in the knapsack there."³⁰

A lusty cheer, more typical of the mood of the men, came from San Antonio, Texas, where the volunteers trained:

"'Rah! Rah! Rah!
 "'Ray! 'Ray! 'Ray!
 "We're the cowboy regiment
 "From Santa Fe,
 "Bound for Cuba."³¹

On May 6, the Arizona contingent of the volunteer cavalry, composed of seven officers and one hundred and seventy-nine men, passed through Isleta, New Mexico, on its

28. "Are The Cowboys A Myth?" *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, May 17. See "Ten Cowboys From Raton," *Denver Republican*, April 30; "Las Vegas' Quota Is Off," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 1; "Cowboys Sending In Names," *Ibid.*, May 2; "Volunteers In Santa Fe," *Ibid.*, May 3; "Union County Cowboys," *Denver Republican*, May 3; "New Mexico's Fighting Cowboys," *Ibid.*; "Cowboys Go South," *Denver Times*, (Denver Colorado), May 5; "Just Aching For A Scrap," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 12.

29. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 4, May 6.

30. *Ibid.*, May 5. See "When Teddy Quits The Sea," a poem by R.D.B. *Ibid.*, May 6.

31. *Ibid.*, May 10.

way to San Antonio, Texas, the rendezvous of the First U. S. Volunteer Cavalry.³² Upon arrival at the New Mexico station, they sent the following telegram:

Roosevelt's Troopers, Santa Fe.

Isleta, N. M., May 6,—Wat 'ell matter with New Mexico. Come running or will never get to Cuba.

BRODIES ARIZONIANS, 200 STRONG.³³

Another report from Albuquerque of this troop movement mentions seven officers and one hundred and ninety men. "The cars were decorated with banners and streamers bearing the mottoes, "Cowboy Regiment of Arizona," "Remember the Maine," and others."³⁴ A dispatch from Guthrie, Oklahoma, said, "Lieutenant A. P. Carpon and Sergeant S. T. Treacker of the 7th cavalry arrived here from Fort Sill to recruit Oklahoma's troop of cavalry."³⁵

To cover the seeming delay of the New Mexican volunteers, the *New Mexican* commented: "When one considers the great distances men have to travel in New Mexico and the time required to communicate with the many places, having no telegraphic connection with the outside world, the recruiting of the four troops of picked men in five days shows great work."³⁶ The New Mexico squadron was made up of territorial militia and volunteers who were mustered into military service as the First Volunteer Cavalry. The first four companies had, for their immediate officers, men of the areas from which they were recruited: Captains Frederick Muller, Maximiliano Luna, W. H. H. Llewellyn, and George Curry commanded the troops E, F, G, and H, respectively. The first camp was located at Santa Fe and was named Camp Otero by the unanimous vote of the men.³⁷

For several days before the departure of the volunteers,

32. *Ibid.*, May 6. See "Arizona's Cowboy Contingent," *Denver Republican*, April 30; "Arizona Leads in Mustering Troops," *Denver Times*, May 3.

33. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 6.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.* Permission also had been granted to recruit cowboy cavalry at Carson City, Nevada; Salt Lake City, Utah; Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Boise, Idaho, "Cowboy Regiment Recruiting," *Denver Republican*, April 27. See newspapers of the Rocky Mountain Empire, April 27 to May 9, 1898.

36. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 6. See Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor, etc.*, p. 40.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

the *New Mexican* sponsored a subscription to purchase a flag to present to the cavalry. On May 7, they had raised \$242.50;³⁸ however, before the presentation could be made, the volunteers had left Santa Fe for their destination.

The departure of the volunteers took place on Saturday afternoon, May 7. The first section of the train left at 5:30; the second followed ten minutes later. Some 5,000 people gathered to see the departure, and according to the accounts many sad scenes were witnessed.³⁹ The *New Mexican*, in a sympathetic mood, comments favorably on the men and their actions in the city during the previous week:

The greater number of the men were in Santa Fe a week, and in that time their behavior was such as to impress every one with their earnestness and quiet determination to do what ever duty points out. During the time they were in this city not a single disturbance occurred either on the streets or in quarters, and aside from the bustle and stir of preparation and organization, no one would have known anything unusual was going on. A more courteous company of men never gathered in one place from all parts of the territory and the citizens of Santa Fe were sincerely sorry to see them leave.⁴⁰

From Dodge City, Kansas, the day after the departure of the volunteers, came a dispatch from Harman Wynkoop: "All through Colorado and Kansas enthusiastic crowds meet the train at the stations. Some of the boys developed their warlike proclivities by sinking schooners here (beer)."⁴¹

During these weeks the press conferred interesting names upon the volunteers. The majority of the volunteers was "made up of men from the plains, from Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and the Indian Territory—cowboys and miners, bred to the use of the horse and rifle, and to roughing it in the open. Some of these served in the National Guard in their several states."⁴² With these facts in mind,

38. "New Mexican Cowboy Volunteers," *Denver Republican*, April 29; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 7. The flag subscription closed with a total of \$253.50. The flag reached the volunteers probably the latter part of June as it is mentioned in a letter dated July 1. *Ibid.*, May 9, July 5.

39. *Ibid.*, May 7; "New Mexico Volunteers," *Denver Republican*, May 6.

40. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 9.

41. *Ibid.*, May 10. See "New Mexico Volunteers," *Denver Republican*, May 8; "Cowboys Get An Ovation," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 8.

42. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 11.

the ingenious press tagged the volunteers as Teddy's Terrors, Roosevelt's Rough Riders, Teddy's Holy Terrors, Roosevelt's Rough 'Uns, Teddy's Gilded Gang, Roosevelt's Wild West, Teddy's Texas Tarantulas, Teddy's Cowboy Contingent, Teddy's Riotous Rounders, Fighting Cowboys, Cowboy Regiment, The Fighting First, Cowboy Cavalry, Cowboy Volunteers, Roosevelt's Regiment, Teddy's Canvasbacks, and Uncle Sam's Brownies.⁴³ As the *New York Press* commented: "Colonel Wood is lost sight of entirely in the effulgence of Teethadore."⁴⁴ However, according to *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt did not approve of these glamorous titles. "Don't call them rough riders," says Theodore Roosevelt, "and don't call them cowboys. Call them mounted riflemen. If any man believes this regiment will go on the hippodrome order he has made a bleeding mistake, particularly when we get in the midst of the fight."⁴⁵

Newspapers confirmed reports that some fifty college and club men from the East were to be in this regiment. Among these were Craig Wadsworth, an outstanding polo player; Basil Ricketts, Hamilton Fish Jr., Horace Devereaux, Princeton football stars; William Tiffany, New York social light; Reginald Ronald, Yale half-back; and Hollister, sprinter from Harvard.⁴⁶

"Keep an eye on Teddy's Terrors. They are the stuff from which came the knighted chivalry of old," said a writer for the *Denver Field and Farm*.⁴⁷ However, the odd

43. "Those Rough Riders," *Denver Times*, May 31. See "Regiment of Western Sharpshooters And Cowboy Riders," *Denver Republican*, April 25; "Rocky Mountain Regiment Will Be Known As Teddy's Terrors," *Denver Evening Post*, April 25; "Cowboy Regiment Recruiting," *Denver Republican*, April 27; "Those Cowboy Volunteers," *Denver Times*, April 28; "The 'Fighting First' Cavalry," *Denver Republican*, June 5.

44. "Those Rough Riders," *Denver Times*, May 31.

45. "Not 'Rough Riders,'" *Ibid.*, May 31. See Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribners*, p. 7; "Roosevelt Is Not a Dime Novel Cowboy," *Denver Times*, May 27.

46. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 11. See "College Men To Join Teddy," *Denver Evening Post*, May 4; "Harvard Students Go With Roosevelt," *Denver Times*, May 4; "Propose To Ride As Cowboys," *Denver Republican*, May 5; "Dudes Are All Right, Curled Darlings Of Society Join Teddy's Terrors," *Denver Evening Post*, May 11; Editorial, *Denver Republican*, May 12; "Teddy's Terrors At San Antonio," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 12; "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, p. 8.

47. (Denver, Colorado), May 14.

combination of Easterner and Westerner concerned the paper of the capital city of New Mexico:

The New York swells, who enlisted in the 1st regiment of U. S. volunteer cavalry, had to leave their valets at home. They are probably nice fellows and all that, but it must be remembered that every man sent by New Mexico as a member of that regiment is just as good as the best New York swell. The chances are that all will fraternize and assimilate when it comes to duty and active service, and that this mixture will prove for the best and will make the regiment one of the finest in the service.⁴⁸

The last two weeks of May brought many reports on the activities of the volunteers in Camp Riverside at San Antonio. The strength of the regiment was about 1,000 men, including about seventy, mostly Texas cowmen, who had enlisted since the group came to that city.⁴⁹ The uniforms, issued shortly after the arrival of the men, consisted of "canvas brown tunic and trowsers, brown leggings, black shoes, navy blue shirts and gray field hats." "Teddy's Brownies," as they were called, were a "husky lot of troopers when drawn up in line on horseback."⁵⁰

Captain T. P. Ledwidge of Troop E, in a letter to the *Denver Republican*, gives an interesting account of the equipment carried by the volunteers:

Each man is supplied with a McClelland saddle, bridle, water bridle, halter, saddlebags, sircingle, picket pin and rope, nose bag, curry comb and brush, spurs, canteen, mess pan and tin cup, knife, fork and spoon, poncho, body blanket, horse blanket, one-half shelter tent, service belt, machete and scabbard, Krag-Jorgensen 30-30 carbine and scabbard, 44--caliber single action Colt's revolver and scabbard and cartridge belt. What else we will carry I cannot say, but it seems we have enough now. Each troop has its own color of horse. . . .⁵¹

All was not work, as is evidenced in the various reports which came back to Santa Fe. On one occasion the Mayor of San Antonio, accompanied by a band and a large number of

48. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 12. "There is some local fear expressed since forty of the New York 400 have gone to San Antonio, Texas, to enlist in the First Regiment of Cavalry, Cowboy Battalion, that the simple manners and customs of the New Mexico cow-boy may be contaminated and his morals deteriorated by contact with these New Yorkers." *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, May 16.

49. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 24.

50. *Ibid.*, May 17. See "The Fighting First Cavalry," *Denver Republican*, June 5.

51. *Ibid.*

citizens, visited the barracks and serenaded the "cow-punchers" with "familiar airs of home."⁵² Another dispatch says:

For the last few nights the guard house has been doing a rushing business. It has been filled to over-flowing with the heroic volunteers who have received "hole-in-the-fence" passes. Last night there were three young men in leggings who had "spotted the reptile variously" during the evening, and were returning singing, with great tenderness, "Take back what you promised me," and looking, with aching head and rheumy eyes, afar into the future. They had just reached the hole in the fence when dark forms heaved up in front of them, behind them, all around them and simultaneously commanded the young men to halt. Then they were marched with great tact down to the guard house where they lingered, shivering and repentant, until early in the morning. They are now older and wiser soldiers.⁵³

Another report, typical of the recruit, gives an over-all picture of life in the Texas camp:

Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt drilled us for two hours yesterday. A lot of us boys took a swim in the river last night. Keeping clean is our greatest trouble, except, perhaps, the mosquitoes, which are very thick. Some of us look as though we had the small pox from the mosquito bites. One man slept with his feet outside of the blankets and they bit him so hard that he can scarcely walk. No one seems to know what we are going to do next and everyone seems to have a different idea as to where and when we will go. Two of the boys from Texas went out and shot up a saloon last night. There wasn't a piece of whole glass left in the place after they got through. They brought back the largest pieces of the mirror for use in camp. The police were afraid to arrest them. This is the only thing in the nature of a disturbance that has occurred since the regiment came here.

The dust blows as hard here as it does in Santa Fe in March.⁵⁴

Another letter noted that the Sabbath was observed in various ways, depending on the whims of the individual.⁵⁵

By this time the regiment had secured about nine hundred horses and two hundred pack mules. As a part of their daily duties, the volunteers had to practice putting packs on the mules, and there was "lots of kicking on the part of the mules and lots of fun and swearing on the part of the boys."⁵⁶ The sudden demand for horses caused a great in-

52. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 19.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, May 25.

55. *Ibid.*, May 19.

56. *Ibid.*, May 24. See Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, p. 19.

crease in price. "Horses that could not be sold two years ago for \$20 per head are now bringing \$80 and \$90 apiece."⁵⁷

During the middle of May, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* reprinted, under a title "Spanish Views of the United States," news that appeared in some of the enemy's newspapers. *El Heraldo de Madrid* printed in the April 20, 1898, issue:

News is brought to us that Buffalo Bill, a notorious outlaw and leader of a band of half-breeds, has risen against the American government, and is burning towns near his birthplace in New York.

Word has just been received here that the Indians are rising against the Yankees in Illinois, Ohio, and other places. The farmers are petitioning the government to protect them from the blood thirsty savages, who are burning houses and killing on every side. Troops are asked for at Colorado, in the state of Denver, and at St. Louis, in Missipa.

Diario tersely reported:

The Yankee president Magginly, committed suicide for fear the Spanish fleet would capture New York.

Pais, in an account on April 20, probably thought it could explain the above happenings:

The country is not fit to live in. The climate is execrable. When it is not sleeting and snowing, the heat is almost unbearable. Avalanches are frequent at all times, and these threaten the principal cities. As for the people, besides the few whites engaged in business along the eastern coast, the remainder of the country is one vast plain, covered with Indians, called cowboys, and great herds of roaming cattle.⁵⁸

The amusement created at home by letters from camp, which related the experiences of the volunteers and the reported stupidity of the enemy, was cut short on May 28, when the news reached the territory that the regiment had received marching orders. The following morning they entrained for Tampa, Florida, "the jumping off place" for

57. *Ibid.*, May 19. See "Cowboys Hunt Tall Timber," *Denver Times*, June 17; "Reminded Cowboys Of Old Times," *Rocky Mountain News*, June 18. An interesting item comes from New York after the volunteers were mustered out in September. Three hundred and seventy-five horses, belonging to Roosevelt's Rough Riders, were sold at prices ranging from \$5 to \$77; the average was \$16. They originally cost the government about \$65 each. "Rough Riders' Horses Sold," *Denver Republican*, September 21.

58. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 16.

the expedition to Cuba. The message ended with a terse "All well,"⁵⁹ and a report on June 3 stated that the 1st volunteer cavalry had arrived at Tampa, 1087 strong.⁶⁰ Several days later the first foreboding note was evidenced in the dispatches of the previous month. Under the headline, "Condition of American Troops," some unfortunate facts were revealed:

Since the arrival of the United States troops at Tampa, both regular and volunteer, there has been much criticism of their effectiveness by the American and European military experts who have visited the camps. It is asserted that the men are wholly unprepared for a campaign in the tropics by reason of their equipments. The uniforms furnished are not adapted to tropical heat and dampness, transportation facilities for camp supplies are inadequate, and altogether the forces assembled to invade Cuba are in bad shape.⁶¹

Letters from Tampa indicated that the four-day trip from San Antonio to the Florida camp had been strenuous, chiefly because of poor railroad transportation.⁶² Harman Wynkoop wrote an interesting account concerning an incident in San Antonio and its far-reaching repercussions in Tampa. During a concert in the former city, given for the benefit of the volunteers, the men were requested to shoot their revolvers upon a given signal in order to promote the success of one particular rendition, "The Cavalry Charge." This they readily agreed to do, and although the lights went out because of an inferior plant, the musicians were able to complete the program. The following evening "a dirty little 'rat' sheet came out and under a 'blackface,

59. *Ibid.*, May 28; "Terrors Are Ordered Out," *Denver Evening Post*, May 28.

60. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 3; "Woods' Rough Riders," *Denver Republican*, June 4. During the month of June, Governor Otero received requests for additional volunteers to bring the New Mexican squadron to the maximum allowed by the law. Evidently Colonel Wood approved of the quality of the volunteers for he wanted more immediately. Altogether, over six hundred men from New Mexico became part of the First U. S. volunteer cavalry. See *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 1-30; Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor, etc.*, p. 44-45; "They All Want To Go," *Denver Republican*, June 9; "Cowboy Volunteers," *Ibid.*, June 15; "Recruits From New Mexico," *Ibid.*, June 18; "Albuquerque's 'Rough Riders'," *Ibid.*, June 22; "More Rough Riders Wanted," *Ibid.*; "New Mexico Recruits," *Ibid.*, June 23; "Examination Of Recruits," *Ibid.*, June 24; "More Men From New Mexico," *Rocky Mountain News*, June 28; "Rough Riders Increased," *Denver Republican*, June 30; "New Mexico Sends More Terrors," *Ibid.*

61. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 7.

62. *Ibid.*, June 11. See Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, p. 136-138.

scare head told of how 800 'rough riders' had punctured a concert." Shooting 2,000 shots caused women and children to stampede and scream; "the 'ungentlemenly cowboys' " cut the electric wire and then robbed the tills of the neighboring saloons. Naturally, the press spread the story to the country at large. When the citizens of Tampa heard that the volunteers were to be paid while in the city, they implored the paymaster to defer the payment until the men had departed. Wynkoop wrote: "They were afraid of us. How absurd! They seem to think the boys are a set of hyenas, cut throats, murderers and horse thieves and that they have no regard for human lives or public property."⁶³

A dispatch from Tampa, dated July 1, reveals that the men had not been paid up to that time; however, Wynkoop intimated in another report on the same day that "the petition of the Tampa citizens was rejected by the paymaster and the boys will be paid tomorrow morning."⁶⁴

In the July 1 dispatch Wynkoop wrote:

We have not been paid our small respective mites since we entered the service, and it has put many of the boys, who absolutely need cash for necessarily [sic] articles, in a very embarrassing condition.

Many boys have been sick, caused by change of diet, climate, etc., and could not be properly cared for in the hospital (for the surgeon has only a limited supply of pills) and they need small amounts for proper food and medicine. The delay has been very aggravating, and it seems as though something could have been done, by the proper authorities, to have the boys paid. We are promised to be paid on the 2d or 2d of next month; we'll then get two month's pay at once. Although none of us entered the service for the paltry wages which are given we will, nevertheless, appreciate the government's "chink" when it is handed over to us.⁶⁵

A patriotic and self-sacrificing incident is the basis of probably one of the most amusing and yet pathetic work efforts of the entire war. Mary C. Prince [Mrs. L. Bradford Prince], the State Regent Daughter of the American Revolution for New Mexico, assisted, on a visit to Denver, in making flannel abdominal protectors for the Colorado volunteers.

63. "News From Front," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 13. See "Cowboys At Tampa," *Denver Times*, June 3; "Busy Days at Tampa, Florida," *Denver Republican*, June 12.

64. "News From Front," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 13.

65. *Ibid.*, July 5.

In a statement to the Daughters of the American Revolution and All Patriotic Women of New Mexico, she said, concerning these protectors:

They are made double, of soft all-wool flannel and are a half-yard long and about ten inches wide. One yard of flannel makes three protectors. They are stitched together once, and then turned over and stitched again; two and a quarter yards of tape is then sewed flatly across the top to fasten it around the body. White flannel is not used for obvious reasons, nor red, because that irritates the skin.⁶⁶

Such a protector was said to be especially advantageous in the prevention of certain diseases peculiar to the tropics, and Mrs. Prince offered to send a sample of the flannel, the pattern, and a finished protector to Mrs. Jacob Weltmer, secretary of the Sunshine Chapter of the organization at Santa Fe.⁶⁷

This detailed account and the earnest promotion of the abdominal protectors did not end at this point for, on July 1, Wynkoop reported the arrival of the same and also the surprised reaction of the men:

The abdominal bandages sent us by the ladies of New Mexico were issued out, one to each trooper. The surgeon overlooked the importance of imparting to Teddy's wild cowboys the use of this peculiarly patterned piece of wool. So, of course, many had different ideas as to the use of the belt. It was near supper time when the bandages were given out, and so many of the belts adorned the breasts of innocent soldiers, bib fashion, during the meal. Many others thought it was a new uniform, especially adapted to Cuban climate. This was very appropriate, for we need to be covered with something more than glory. But, ladies of New Mexico, we deeply and sincerely thank you for thinking of our welfare, and we all hope to live to return and thank you individually for our "abominable bandages."⁶⁸

In a reprint item from the *Republican*, Springfield, Massachusetts, the scope of information concerning the volunteers is revealed. Commenting on a statement from the *New Haven Register*, "People are getting ruffled at hearing so much about the "Rough Riders," the *Republican* says:

Not about the "Rough Riders," but about a few members of the regiment. There are, perhaps, 980 odd cowboys from the west in the

66. "To The Daughter Of The American Revolution And All Patriotic Women Of New Mexico," *Ibid.*, May 31.

67. *Ibid.*; "To Help the Volunteers," *Denver Republican*, June 1.

68. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 5.

organization, and from ten to 20 eastern college graduates and New York society men. One might think from reading the New York newspapers that these ten or 20 easterners, brave as they are, made up the entire force.⁶⁹

The night of June 7, the volunteers received orders to be at the Port of Tampa, the point of embarkation, the following morning. After much delay in leaving camp and difficulties in finding transportation to the port, the volunteers finally arrived and boarded the transports. The ships were crowded and uncomfortable, a situation which became more so, due to an order, received just before sailing time, that the ships be held. Consequently, they remained in harbor almost a week, and the tropical Florida heat caused intense discomfort and misery.⁷⁰ One Rough Rider, in writing his reminiscences, complained that they had a bad time from the very first: "The grub was horrible; we had no freshly cooked food for fourteen days. 'Salt horse,' hardtack, one-eighth can of tomatoes, and water coffee constituted a ration. The lack of variety at first made the food disagreeable, then nauseating."⁷¹ Finally, on the evening of June 13, they set sail for Cuba, and the tension and discomfort of the cramped men was somewhat relieved. On June 20, they neared the coast of Cuba, remained off Santiago for two days, and landed "after a heavy bombardment of the coast by several of our men-of-war."⁷²

However, sectional and petty differences, discomfort and woe were soon forgotten. On June 25 and 26, the newspapers of the Rocky Mountain Empire carried ominous headlines:

First Baptism Of Blood On Cuban Soil. New Mexico Volunteers In Battle—Enemy, Although In Strong Force, Compelled To Retire—American Loss 60 Officers And Men—List of Dead And Wounded.⁷³
Teddy's Terror's Decimated By Don's Fire.⁷⁴
Into Death's Jaws Marched The Terrors.⁷⁵

69. *Ibid.*, July 22. See "Virile Young Society Men," *Denver Republican*, June 26; "The Gallant Dudes," *Ibid.*, July 17.

70. Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, p. 144-149. See "Cowboy Cavalry Afloat," *Denver Republican*, June 10.

71. "The Fight of the Rough Riders," *Outlook* 60, September 3, p. 19.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 25.

74. *Rocky Mountain News*, June 25.

75. *Denver Evening Post*, June 25.

The New Mexico Volunteers met the enemy in battle on June 24, and, according to the report received in Santa Fe, they bore the brunt of the fight. The dispatch said in part:

Col. Wood's men, with an advance guard well out in front, and two Cuban guides before them, but apparently with no flanks, went squarely into the trap set for them by the Spaniards and only the unfaltering courage of the men in the face of a fire that would even make a veteran quail, prevented what might easily have been a disaster. . . .

"There must have been nearly 1,500 of us," said Lieut Col. Roosevelt today, when discussing the fight. "They held the ridges with rifle pits and machine guns and had a body of men in ambush in the thick of the jungle at the sides of the road over which we were advancing. Our advance forward struck the men in ambush and drove them out, . . ."

"The Spanish firing was accurate, so accurate, indeed, that it surprised me; and their firing was fearfully heavy.

"I want to say a word for our own men," continued Lieut. Col. Roosevelt. "Every officer and man did his duty up to the hilt. Not a man flinched."⁷⁶

The casualties were listed as follows: one officer and seven men killed; nine men missing; two officers and eighteen men wounded. A very interesting fact appears in these first reports of the battle, namely, the information that the cavalry men were afoot. This is mentioned in all first reports and repeated several times in dispatches which followed. A rather obscure news item early in June mentioned that it might be necessary to leave the horses at Tampa, but they would probably be sent for later.⁷⁷ However, the truth of the statement is not revealed until the news that the volunteers had engaged in battle with the enemy had reached home. Lack of transportation facilities seemed to be the

76. "Engagement At La Quasina," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 28. See "Rough Riders Win Their Spurs," *Denver Republican*, June 25; "Heroic Fighting By The Rough Riders," *Ibid.*, June 26; "Col. Roosevelt's Western Riders Show Their Mettle," *Ibid.*; Davis, Richard Harding, "The Rough Rider's Fought Bravely," *Ibid.*; "How Rough Riders Went To Death," *Rocky Mountain News*, June 26; "Praise For The Heroes," *Ibid.*; "The Battle of La Quasina," *Denver Republican*, June 27; "The Rough Riders," *Rocky Mountain News*, June 28; "American Bluff Won The Day," *Denver Evening Post*, June 28; "Teddy's Terrors Talk Of Their Baptism Of Fire," *Ibid.*, June 29; Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, p. 274.

77. "Rough Riders For Infantry," *Rocky Mountain News*, June 6. See Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, p. 143. "Dizzy From Heat And Famishing For Water," *Denver Evening Post*, June 27.

only reason for this situation.⁷⁸ The most recent comment on the rough riders afoot is made by Rough Rider William J. Love of Las Vegas, New Mexico, during the 50th anniversary of their reunion, held in that city the latter part of June, 1949. He said:

As for fighting afoot—well, I was born in a dugout in 1872 right here in Las Vegas, raised as a cowboy, and enlisted under Lt. Green in April, 1898, fully expecting to do my fighting on horseback. So did most of the rest of the boys. About all the training we got was “railroad training” from Santa Fe to San Antonio to Tampa. But during our brief stay in San Antonio we did have horses. We even got as far as Tampa with ’em. What happened then, I reckon, must have been just a case of what the GI’s of World War II called “snafu.” Maybe there just wasn’t room on the boats for the horses. Anyhow we landed in Cuba afoot, marched afoot, sweated under the tropical sun afoot, and won whatever fame we got as Rough Riders by fighting afoot.⁷⁹

One participant recalls the battle vividly: “At one stage of the fight we were diligently firing directly in front of us, when an officer came running toward us shouting, “For God’s sake stop! you are killing your own men! You are supporting the firing line.” We were horror-struck, and a groan went up from the men.”⁸⁰

The *New York Evening Sun* paid a fine tribute to the Roosevelt Rough Riders. They were described as “the most representative body of American volunteers . . . in the service of the government.” Other regiments came from particular localities, but this mounted organization was made up of “men of fashion and leisure”; “men of note in athletic circles,” “cross-country riders,” all served with the “professional cowboys of the plains.” The *Sun* pointed out that the regiment had been criticized by American and foreign observers because it was built on picturesque rather than practical lines, but “the dandies and the bucks have shown once more that they can get down to the stern busi-

78. “La Quasina Battle,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 8.

79. Barker, S. Omar, “Rough Riders Gather Here Again For Reunion Friday, Saturday,” *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, June 22, 1949. Note: Oliver McKinney, Troop G, who attended the reunion, said that some of the officers got to take their horses to Cuba, but found little use for them due to the heavy growth of vegetation. “Each Rider Has Story About Life With T. R.” *Ibid.*, June 24, 1949.

80. “The Fight of the Rough Riders,” *Outlook* 60, September 3, p. 20.

ness of fighting with the best of them when the occasion arises. These cavalymen are the true soldiers of fortune of the present war."⁸¹

In a glowing editorial on American youth in its July 6 issue, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* cracks the whip over the detractors of the volunteers:

As an instance of the adaptibility of the average American citizen, take the "Rough Riders," as they are called. At the present time both hemispheres are ringing with praise of the bravery, coolness and utter disregard for the fire of unseen foes shown by the members of that organization; that are declared to be equal to veterans and even the trained men of the regular service have shown no more soldier-like qualities than have the raw recruits now serving in the 1st United States volunteer cavalry. They had a reputation for these qualities before they were enlisted, based on the childish reason that every man was supposed to be a "cowboy." The fact is that Colonel Wood's regiment is composed of the following classes of young men: clerks, stenographers, college boys, miners, printers, railroad men, mechanics, "tramps," a few "cowboys" and several New York "dudes."

Of course it seems a little hard to dispel the romance which has been built up around the regiment of which New Mexico is so proud, but it is simply justice to the average young man of America to state the truth. It makes no difference if he was formerly a dry goods salesman or a digger of ore or a puncher of the festive western steer, when he believes its his duty to enlist in the service of his country he shirks no duty which he is called upon to perform. It takes but a short time to transform him from a "dude" or a "hobo" into a soldier who commands the admiration of the world. In that respect the American is without an equal in the world. From childhood accustomed to the use of firearms, ready to go anywhere he is sent and anxious to resent an insult to his country and flag, it is nowise strange that the conduct of the volunteers in the war with Spain has astonished the warlike nations of Europe with his intrepidity under fire.⁸²

News continued to filter back to the Territory about its pride and joy, the volunteers. Mention is made of the privations and hardships suffered by the men, and also several sly innuendos are projected. The *New Mexican*, on several occasions, intimates the possible political advantages accrued to Theodore Roosevelt because of his leadership. Statements such as the following appear: "they [volunteers] make a record for themselves at La Quasina and

81. "Rough Riders Under Fire," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 5.

82. *Ibid.*, July 6.

San Juan is true, and they did make the record, and the result is Wood is a Brigadier and Roosevelt is a Colonel."⁸³ On July 12, it commented: "Colonel Roosevelt and the 'Rough Riders' are making a good deal of history these days. The 'Rough Riders' may make their colonel governor of New York. Who knows? Strange things happen these days."⁸⁴ A few days later a prophetic editor wrote: "The 'Rough Riders' are evidently riding Colonel Roosevelt into the office of governor of New York and may ride him into the presidential chair yet. He is a young man. Who knows?"⁸⁵

A letter dated July 7 stated that the wounded were doing well and that there was no other sickness in camp at that time.⁸⁶ Captain W. H. H. Llewellyn, in a letter to Governor Otero, made several requests from the people of New Mexico in regard to articles to be sent to the boys—smoking tobacco, small packages with stout string, large needles, shaving soap and scissors.⁸⁷

The news that the wounded volunteers had been moved to the hospital on Governors' Island, New York, reached Santa Fe, July 28.⁸⁸ The people of New Mexico learned that "their boys" were visited by Major Brodie, who gave each man a five dollar bank note, and was instructed by Colonel Roosevelt to give them more money if need be. The money was "to pay for minor expenses and such other luxuries as they may wish to buy."⁸⁹ The *New Mexican* commented on this generosity thus: "Colonel Roosevelt is not what is known as a practical politician, but his thoughtful remembrance of the wounded 'Rough Riders' in the hospital at Governors' Island will in no wise injure his chances for election."

The families of the wounded men were much relieved to hear that they were to leave Santiago, for "health condi-

83. *Ibid.*, July 23.

84. *Ibid.*, July 12.

85. *Ibid.*, July 21.

86. *Ibid.*, July 23, August 24.

87. *Ibid.*, July 22.

88. *Ibid.*, July 28; "Roosevelt's Generous Gift," *Denver Times*, July 28; "Teddy's Terrors in Clover," *Rocky Mountain News*, July 29.

89. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 29. See *Ibid.*, July 22; "Rough Riders Are Coming North," *Denver Republican*, August 4; "Rough Riders Sail For Home," *Ibid.*, August 8.

tions in Cuba are such that disease has been more feared than Spanish bullets."⁹⁰ The volunteers left Santiago August 7 and, upon landing at Montauk Point, New York, August 15, some were so weak that they could hardly walk. Most of them were sick from dysentery, a few in a critical condition, and all were to be held in a detention camp for at least three days for observation.⁹¹

From Washington, August 25, came the information that the Rough Riders were to be mustered out before the end of the month. Governor Otero requested that this be accomplished as soon as possible, and Colonel Roosevelt, in an urgent telegram, heartily supported the move.⁹² At the same time he dispatched to Governor Otero a letter filled with praise for the New Mexican volunteers. In part he wrote:

I write you a line just to tell you how admirably the New Mexican troopers in the battalion of the "Rough Riders" which I have commanded before Santiago have behaved. Three of the eight troops with me were from New Mexico, being commanded by Captains Muller, Luna and Lewellyn. [sic] All three captains, and all three troops, distinguished themselves. As for the troopers themselves, I cannot say too much for their daring and resolution in battle, their patient endurance of every kind of hardship and labor, and their discipline, ready obedience and order in camp—these last qualities being as indispensable to soldiers as courage itself. I am more than proud to be in the same regiment with them; I can imagine no greater honor than to have commanded such men.⁹³

While the Rough Riders were at Camp Wikoff, news of their activities appeared almost daily in the papers. During the latter part of August, Governor Otero paid them a visit which was most heartening for it brought to them a touch of home and at the same time cheered their families.⁹⁴ One of the most interesting items concerned the formation of

90. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 15; "The Health of the Army," *Rocky Mountain News*, August 4.

91. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 15, August 16. See "Roosevelt, 'Rough Riders,'" *Scribner's*, pp. 686, 688; "Cavalry First To Leave Cuba," *Rocky Mountain News*, August 8; "Rough Riders On The Sea," *Denver Evening Post*, August 8; "Rough Riders At Montauk," *Denver Republican*, August 15; "Rough Riders Are All Well," *Ibid.*, August 19.

92. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 25.

93. *Ibid.*, September 3.

94. "Gov. Otero Visits The Rough Riders," *Denver Republican*, August 22; "Invalided Rough Riders," *Ibid.*, August 26; See Otero, *My Nine Years As Governor*, etc., pp. 56-58.

an organization known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders. According to its constitution, the oldest son of each member, upon the death of his father, would be admitted so as "to perpetuate the name and fame of this remarkable cavalry regiment."⁹⁵

During the weeks before the volunteers were mustered out, there were numerous rumors. According to one, a grand parade was to be staged in New York City for the victorious volunteers; however this was cancelled, and a cowboy tournament was planned.⁹⁶ Three women representatives of the National Relief League scheduled the entertainment and twenty of the Rough Riders were selected to perform. This, too, did not materialize; however, a bronc riding contest did take place at Camp Wikoff. Troop H won the contest.⁹⁷

Probably the most exciting news of the month concerned the mustering out program. This occurred on September 15, the event for which all had been waiting, although it did cause some confusion in regard to those men who had been given a sixty-day furlough earlier.⁹⁸

There are many colorful accounts, some humorous, others tragic, of visits to New York City by volunteers on furlough and after being mustered out. According to an editorial in the *Denver Republican*, "some of Teddy's Terrors fired a few volleys from their revolvers on Brooklyn Bridge, but, the dispatches say, the policemen allowed them a good deal of latitude. That is just the most proper thing to do when [a] . . . cowboy gits to slashing around with his gun." The Rough Riders, mustered out, went to the city in great numbers to see the sights and, according to the

95. "To Perpetuate The Name And Fame Of The Rough Riders," *Denver Evening Post*, September 1; "Rough Riders Held First Reunion In Vegas Fifty Years Ago This Month," *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, June 21, 1949.

96. "Rough Riders Not To Parade," *Denver Times*, September 2.

97. "Rough Riders Will Hold A Tournament," *Rocky Mountain News*, September 20; "Rough Riders Sport In Camp," *Ibid.*, September 18.

98. "Rough Riders To Be Mustered Out," *Denver Republican*, September 1; "Rough Riders Granted Sixty Days Furlough," *Rocky Mountain News*, September 1; "Mustering Out Of Rough Riders," *Denver Evening Post*, September 2; "Cold Wave At Camp Wikoff," *Denver Republican*, September 12; "Getting Soldiers Away From Camp Wikoff," *Ibid.*, September 15; "Volunteers Wonder As To Standing," *Rocky Mountain News*, September 19.

headlines, "owned New York City."⁹⁹ Earlier in the month, however, when the able and well volunteers had been granted furloughs, the accounts had a different note. The *New York World* reports that twelve rough riders went to the East 35th Street Police Station and asked for sleeping accommodations, for, although they had home-bound railroad tickets, they had no money. Their sad tale to the police was that "they went to the Army Building to draw \$4.50 each to which they were entitled. There they were told that they had been docked \$1.50 for something or other and only received \$3 apiece."¹⁰⁰

The *World* also printed another story:

Six of Colonel Teddy Roosevelt's rough riders and tough fighters; sick, very weak and stranded, penniless in this city over night, were glad to accept the hospitality of Harry Jackson, night manager of an undertaker's concern, and when it was found that three of them filled all the regular sleeping accommodations of the place the other three promptly filled three partly made coffins with excelsior and then cuddled down in the beds thus formed and in a thrice were fast asleep. And Jackson, who had surrendered his bed besides providing a feast of coffee, potted ham, pies and cakes, is very proud of his hospitality to his fighting guests.¹⁰¹

By the third week in September, the territorial newspapers reported that volunteers were arriving at home daily. Some, however, had remained in the East to visit and to continue their sight-seeing; one group paid a visit to Washington, D. C., and several were presented by Delegate Ferguson to President McKinley. The newspapers record this visit and the president's greeting in part: "Your record is one which the entire nation is proud. . . . You have not only done well . . . but I have no doubt you would be willing to again serve your country in an emergency."¹⁰²

Theodore Roosevelt had much to say about his mounted

99. "Rough Riders Own New York City," *Ibid.*, September 15; "The Rough Riders Having A Good Time," *Denver Evening Post*, September 25.

100. "Rough Riders Fed By Police," *Rocky Mountain News*, September 4.

101. "Rough Riders Sleep In Coffins," *Ibid.*

102. "Teddy's Men At Capital," *Denver Evening Post*, September 20; "Rough Riders Call On McKinley At White House," *Ibid.*, September 21; "Greeted The Rough Riders," *Denver Times*, September 21; "New Mexico Rough Riders Visit President McKinley," *Denver Republican*, September 22; "Rough Riders At The White House," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 26.

cavalry and he has been quoted innumerable times, most often, probably, in regard to his farewell address, on which he himself comments in his book *The Rough Riders*:

One Sunday before the regiment disbanded I supplemented Chaplain Brown's address to the men by a short sermon of a rather hortatory character. I told them how proud I was of them, but warned them not to think that they could go back and rest on their laurels, bidding them remember that though for ten days or so the world would be willing to treat them as heroes, yet after that time they would find they had to get down to hard work just like everyone else, unless they were willing to be regarded as worthless do-nothings. They took the sermon in good part, and I hope that some of them profited by it.¹⁰³

An interesting letter, which appeared in the *Denver Republican*, June 19, of this same year, provokes considerable thought. In it, an old cavalryman, J. D. Dillenback, expresses his opinion about the cowboy v. the cavalryman:

. . . seriously, I am inclined to doubt that cowboys, as a class, are likely to make superior cavalrymen. At the outset they have two apparently important points in their favor: they are accustomed to the hardships of an outdoor life in all kinds of weather, and they know how to ride. My experience has been that these qualifications are not such important factors in the make-up of a cavalryman as many suppose. Both can be acquired in a few weeks by any set of healthy and intelligent young men.

. . . The average cowboy, as I have known him, is given to drink and hard to discipline. Doubtless Teddy Roosevelt can make a valuable scout, if not a thorough soldier out of him. But I cannot help believing that Teddy's cowboys and rough riders will prove the least valuable part of his regiment. It will be difficult to make the cowboy police his camp, set his tent properly, keep himself clean and take care of his health.

. . . Riding a bucking bronco and throwing a lariat are not the highest soldierly accomplishments. The habit of keeping clean and obeying orders is decidedly preferable.¹⁰⁴

In opposition to this, an item entitled "Cowboys Make Best Cavalrymen," quotes the words of a high military authority: "To be a perfect cavalryman the man must have

103. Roosevelt, "Rough Riders," *Scribner's*, pp. 677, 690. See Armstrong, H. E., "Roosevelt As A Volunteer Soldier," *Independent* 53, September 26, 1901, p. 2281; Cunningham, Paul E., "Rough Riders' Reunion," *New Mexico Magazine* 27, June, 1949, p. 42.

104. "Cowboy Cavalry And Rough Riding," *Denver Republican*, June 19.

learned to ride before he learned to walk.”¹⁰⁵ Richard Harding Davis wrote: “The grit of the cowpuncher has never been doubted.”¹⁰⁶ And, on innumerable occasions, Theodore Roosevelt voiced the highest praise for the cowboys of his regiment. At one time he said: “Ninety-five per cent of my men had at one time or another herded cattle on horseback or had hunted big game with the rifle. They were, therefore, natural riders and good shots, used to out-of-door life, a dead game lot and intelligent—so we could discipline. . . . The groundwork of the regiment is the cowpuncher. . . .”¹⁰⁷

An editorial in the *Denver Republican* gives credit to this great volunteer leader: “Col. Roosevelt never tires of lauding his regiment of Rough Riders, the bases of which, he says, is the cow puncher. There are ex-policemen, Harvard men, country doctors, dudes and heirs to millions in his regiment, but the framework of the organization that won fame in Cuba is the cowboy, bronzed, daredevil, loud and unveneered.”¹⁰⁸ On another occasion Roosevelt said: “The grand work of the regiment is due largely to the cowpuncher—the man who has herded cattle on the plains for a living—and next to him comes the Rocky Mountain miner, who has also usually been a small ranchman.”¹⁰⁹ Several months later Roosevelt was more conservative and inclusive in his estimation of the mounted cavalry:

Our men behaved very well indeed—white regulars, colored regulars, and Rough Riders alike. The newspaper press failed to do full justice to the white regulars, in my opinion, from the simple reason that everybody knew that they would fight, whereas there had been a good deal of question as to how the Rough Riders, who were volunteer troops, and the Tenth Cavalry, who were colored, would behave; so there was a tendency to exalt our deeds at the expense of those of the First Regulars, whose courage and good conduct were taken for granted.¹¹⁰

Appraisals of past events, made by Rough Riders at their 50th annual reunion, held at Las Vegas, New Mexico,

105. *Rocky Mountain News*, August 14.

106. “Dashing Bravery Of Rough Riders,” *Denver Republican*, July 18.

107. “Col. Roosevelt Lauds His Men,” *Ibid.*, August 20.

108. “Teddy’s Terrors,” *Ibid.*, August 21.

109. “Teddy Roosevelt Praises His Men,” *Rocky Mountain News*, August 16.

110. Roosevelt, “Rough Riders,” *Scribner’s*, p. 275.

in June, 1949, are of historic interest and significance. About fifty members of the original organization were able to attend this reunion, and their reminiscences are filled with nostalgia.

Rough Rider William J. Love, who was in charge of local arrangements for the half-century celebration, recalled the past thus:

Teddy first started out to enlist the whole regiment from New Mexico, . . . but a lot of Arizona and Oklahoma boys raised such a holler to get in, that the regiment was finally made up of three squadrons, one each for New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma, though as near as I can remember there was about 550 of us enlisted from New Mexico. So some of us got assignments to other squadrons to fill them out. Around 1,200 men altogether, a big lot of us cowboys, but we also got among us young lawyers, preachers, doctors, railroaders, miners and I don't know what all. Maybe even a few outlaws, but all a-r'arin' to fight.¹¹¹

Frank C. Brito, of Silver City, related in very frank words the filial respect which brought about his enlistment: "My father sent for us and said 'did you know the United States is at war with Spain?' When we answered no, he said, 'I want you boys to go to Silver City and enlist and fight for your country.' Them days you did what your father told you to do."¹¹²

Frank S. Roberts, who had contracted typhoid fever and dysentery, said that the "goats milk which he drank in Cuba probably saved his life."¹¹³

"The worst mis-handled war there ever was," said George F. Murray, who recalled with vivid memory the rations of hard tack and canned "goat" meat and said "they were given green coffee beans, which they roasted in their canteens and then took the butts of their pistols to grind the beans before coffee could be made." Fighting for one's country in those days was not especially glamorous at \$13.60 per month!¹¹⁴ Ben H. Colbert commented that he had gone

111. Barker, S. Omar, "Rough Riders Gather Here Again For Reunion Friday, Saturday," *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, June 22, 1949.

112. "Each Rider Has Story About Life With T. R.," *Ibid.*, June 24.

113. Rough Riders To End Sessions With Mabry As Guest Tonight." *Ibid.*, June 25.

114. *Ibid.*

through the war as a "buck private and [was] never reduced"; however, later he was honored by Roosevelt with an appointment as U. S. Marshall of the territory of Oklahoma.¹¹⁵

Such were Teddy's Terrors, the Rough Riders—the New Mexican Volunteers! In a summary of their contributions and accomplishments, as revealed by the press, significant conclusions may be reached.

The New Mexican Volunteers of 1898, a spontaneous expression of Southwestern enthusiasm and patriotism, were organized to meet the emergency of war. The mounted cavalry grew out of the need of a particular individual, adept in horsemanship and marksmanship, at the same time endowed with the physical endurance associated with out-of-door life. These qualifications were best found among the young men of the last and rapidly disappearing frontier of the territories of the United States.

Even before Governor Otero's offer to organize a mounted cavalry was accepted by the war department, a willingness on the part of the New Mexican to serve his country was evidenced. The officials and the citizens were anxious to prove their loyalty to the federal government, and at the same time the glamour of a mounted cavalry had its appeal. Still greater enthusiasm was aroused when it became known that Theodore Roosevelt, a man who had lived among and knew Western men, was to be the leader.

The volunteers came from all walks of life, although enlistments revealed a preponderance of individuals engaged in the cattle industry. The vast and rugged areas of the territory necessitated travel on horse back, regardless of the individual's occupation. Because of the dangers of frontier life—the bandit, outlaw and desperado, and the pilfering which occurred on the frontier border, any man—miner, herder, cattleman, railroader, cowboy, government scout, mechanic, clerk, or stenographer—needed skill with firearms to protect life and property. This was an era when,

115. *Ibid.*

and a place where, men were engaged at one time or another in several pursuits in order to make a livelihood. Therefore, it was not uncommon to find the former cowboy working for the railroad or in the mines, or the one-time clerk or stenographer engaged in governmental scouting activities—their common ground, because of environment, was horsemanship and marksmanship.

As all volunteers, they lived to learn that a nation is never fully enough prepared to meet the needs of its soldiers in order to avoid the adjustment from civilian to military life. Difficulties and hardships which consequently arose were taken in their stride with good humor and the normal amount of complaining.

Its colorful background and personalities gave the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry many descriptive names of which Rough Riders and Teddy's Terrors were the most popular. As warriors, Teddy's Terrors received probably far greater notoriety than they deserved. They were not self-seeking, but their leadership was in the hands of a young, prominent, aggressive, dashing, up-and-coming man—Theodore Roosevelt. The aura of publicity, which at this time was beginning to surround him and continued throughout his life, was bound to include the men under his command. Yet, despite their publicity and that of their leaders, when they came to test under fire, the volunteers proved to be sturdy, capable and brave—stalwarts of their Southwestern heritage.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE PERTAINING TO THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA

By ALBERT H. SCHROEDER *

ARCHAEOLOGICAL occupation in the lower Salt River Valley of southern Arizona ceases around 1400 A.D., according to present evidence. Any of the several tribes inhabiting the surrounding area in early historic times may have played a part in the abandonment. Before treating with these groups it is necessary first to limit the distribution of the Pima as recorded by the Spanish.

Pima

Aside from Fray Marcos de Niza and the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition, who refer to the probable group now known as the Sobaipuri, Kino is our first source for detail on the Pima of Arizona. He reported a number of Sobaipuri rancherias on the San Pedro River and 6 or 7 Pima rancherias around Casa Grande along the Gila River, but not once did he mention other Pimas north of the Gila which he once did cross.¹ The westernmost village on the Gila was San Bartolomé, 3 leagues above the Gila-Salt junction.² Bolton, Kino's historian, is the only source to state that the Pima were on the Salt River, yet he presents no evidence for this statement, nor does Kino offer anything to support such a statement.³

Later evidence indicates the Salt was unoccupied. In 1716 Velarde referred to the Sobaipuri on the San Pedro River

* The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Erik Reed for making copies of two documents in the Santa Fe Archives and to Mrs. Helen Bretnor for checking data in the Bancroft Library.

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[When first cited in a footnote, a reference is given in full. In subsequent citations it is given in abbreviated form. Ed.]

1. Jesse W. Fewkes, *Casa Grande, Arizona*, p. 86 (22nd Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. I. Washington, 1904); Kino in Herbert E. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, vol. 1, pp. 170-172 (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948).

2. Mange in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 196.

3. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 50.

and to the north Pima on the Gila.⁴ In 1743 Keler crossed the Gila and proceeded to the junction of the Verde and the Salt. From there he went down the Salt to its junction with the Gila. He continued beyond to the first Cocomaricopa (Maricopa) rancheria and then returned. No mention was made of any Indians on the Salt.⁵ In 1744 Sedelmayr crossed the Gila at Casa Grande and further north he forded the Rio de Asunción (lower Salt). He followed it down to the junction with the Gila without referring to any Indians. Beyond the junction lived the Cocomaricopa. Sedelmayr also referred to the Pima around Casa Grande as a branch of the Pima separate from the Sobaipuri.⁶ In 1763 the Rudo Ensayo stated the upper Pima lived from Cucurpe to Caborca and from Dolores to the Gila River and down the Gila.⁷ In 1775 and 1776 Garcés continually referred to the Pimas Gileños in contrast to the Sobaipuri.⁸ In 1774 Anza noted the westernmost Pima village (Sutaquison) 13 leagues east of Gila Bend. The easternmost village was 2 leagues away. Diaz said it was 15 leagues from Gila Bend to Sutaquison and 3 leagues further past 2 large villages to the easternmost Pima village of Uturituc which was 4 to 7 leagues west of Casa Grande. He noted 6 villages in all on both sides of the river in these three leagues.⁹ Garcés placed Sutaquison 17 leagues from San Simon y Judas (Opasoitac) which was on Gila Bend. The Pima villages he placed as follows: Sutaquison on the west end and 4 leagues to Uturituc on the east end. Font said within 6 leagues on the Gila were 5 pueblos, 4 on the south side and one on the north.¹⁰

In 1794 Pfefferkorn, who left America after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, wrote "From the abode of the

4. Velarde in Rufus K. Wyllys, ed., "*Padre Luis Velarde's Relación of Pimeria Alta, 1716*," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 6, p. 145.

5. Sedelmayr in Ronald L. Ives, tr., *Sedelmayr's Relación of 1746*, p. 104 (Bulletin 123, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1939).

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

7. Esuebio Guiteras, tr., *Rudo Ensayo*, American Catholic Historical Society, vol. 5, p. 189.

8. Garcés in Elliott Coues, tr., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, (American Explorers Series, III. Francis P. Harper, New York, 1900).

9. Anza and Diaz in Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, pp. 31-32 (University of Chicago Press, 1933).

10. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 109-113, 102-106.

Pimas, [around Casa Grande] 12 miles [Spanish mile of $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours] are counted to the Rio de la Asunción [lower Salt River]. The country where this river drops into the Gila is very pleasant, flat, and very good to bring forth all kind of grain and plants. It is populated on both sides of the river [Gila] by the Cocomaricopas.¹¹ Next to them border the Nichoras [Yavapai] who extend from the northerly sides of the Gila to the Sierra Azul and are constantly at war with the Cocomaricopas. Because more timid, they receive mostly the short end. In these encounters the Cocomaricopas are not trying to kill the enemies, but try to get them alive. They sell the prisoners to the neighboring Pimas . . ."¹²

In 1762 the Sobaipuri were driven from the San Pedro valley by the Apache, and Spier states that prior to 1800 some of those in the Santa Cruz were driven further west by the Apache.¹³

In summary then we have a known distribution of the Sobaipuri from 1539 to the 1760's along the San Pedro and from 1694 into the 1800's in the Santa Cruz valley. The Gila Pima were restricted to 5 or 6 villages on the Gila a short distance above the Gila-Salt junction from 1694 on. Not one mention is made of any tribe on the Salt through which several padres passed.

Apache

With the distribution of the Pima as outlined above, we can now proceed with a discussion of the surrounding tribes. The Apache have most often been referred to as a possible cause of the pressure exerted on prehistoric cultures of east-central Arizona and on the Hohokam which brought about the abandonment of the large settlements around 1400 A.D.¹⁴

11. Theodore E. Treutlein, *Pfefferkorn's Description of Sonora*, vol. XII, p. 29, (vol. 12, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1949) translated this "Both sides of these two rivers are inhabited by the Cocomaricopas."

12. Ignatz Pfefferkorn, *Description of the Landscape of Sonora including other remarkable news of the internal part of New Spain, etc.* Colonne, vol. 1, p. 6 (New York Public Library manuscript, in German). I am indebted to Louis Schlesinger for the translation of this passage. Parentheses are mine.

13. Guiteras, *Rudo Ensayo*, p. 192; Spier, *Yuma Tribes* . . . , p. 1.

14. Cosmos Mindeleff, *Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley, Arizona*, p. 260 (13th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1896); Jesse W. Fewkes,

The first reference to these nomads was made by the chroniclers of the Coronado expedition of 1540. They were found east of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and were referred to as Querechos.

In 1583 Espejo said the mountain people near Acoma were called Querechos by the Indians of Acoma.¹⁵ This term was also employed by Luxán and Obregón in referring to groups in the Little Colorado River and Verde Valley areas and by Luxán to describe wanderers in the present Laguna area. Obregón used the term along with Vaqueros as a synonym. He also used the term Querecho in referring to a group in northern Mexico two days away from the plains.¹⁶

In all the above instances the Spanish were simply referring to wandering tribes, and transferred the term as originally employed east of the Rio Grande to other areas after 1583. As further indication of this practice we find Castañeda, Luxán, Obregón, and Garcés, from the late 1500's through 1776, using the Mexican term Chichimeco instead to imply wandering or wild tribes in the vicinity of the

Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins, p. 20 (22nd Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. I. Washington, 1904); Gladwin in E. B. Sayles, *An Archaeological Survey of Chihuahua, Mexico*, p. 98 (Medallion Papers, no. 22, Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona); Winifred and Harold S. Gladwin, *The Eastern Range of the Red-on-buff Culture*, p. 257 (Medallion Papers, no. 16, Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona); Irene Vickrey, "Besh-ba-gowah," *Kiva*, vol. 4, p. 19 (Arizona State Museum, Tucson); Henry W. Kelly, "Franciscan Missions of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 16, p. 42; Donald E. Worcester, "The Beginnings of the Apache Menace of the Southwest," *ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 2; Emil W. Haury, "Recent Field Work by the Arizona State Museum," *Kiva*, vol. 7, p. 20 (Arizona State Museum, Tucson); H. S. and C. B. Cosgrove and A. V. Kidder, *The Pendleton Ruin*, No. 50, p. 147 (Contributions to American Anthropology and History, Publication 585, Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1949).

15. Coronado in Adolph F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, etc.*, American Series III, pt. I, p. 28 (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge); Coronado in George P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-42*, pp. 580-581 (14th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 1, Washington, 1896); *Relación del Suceso* in *Ibid.*, p. 578; Espejo in Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, p. 183 (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916).

16. Obregón in G. P. Hammond & A. Rey, eds., *Obregón's History of the 16th Century Explorations in Western America, entitled Chronicle, Commentary, or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico*, pp. 19-20, 194, 328, 380 (Wetzel Publishing Co., Inc., Los Angeles, 1928); Luxan in G. P. Hammond & A. Rey, eds., *The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo, 1528-33 as revealed in the Journal of Diego Perez de Luxán*, pp. 86, 97 (Quivira Society, Los Angeles, 1929); See Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, Series III, pt. I, pp. 28-29 for quotations from original sources.

Hopis.¹⁷ Certainly they didn't imply Mexican wanderers were in this area!

The meaning and use of the word Apache has been cause for most of the misinterpretation relating to our historic Apache. The word itself was first used as "Apades" or "Apiche" in documents pertaining to Oñate's entradas of 1598. In 1608 Fray Francisco de Velasco and in 1626 Zarate used "Apache" to refer to the Apache de Nabaju in northwestern New Mexico.¹⁸ Benavides noted a group which he called the Apache de Xila west of the region of Socorro, New Mexico, in the headwaters of the Gila in 1630.¹⁹ The word "Apache" now began to replace Querecho. "Apache" activity after that date was more commonly documented. With the adoption of the horse about 1660 their movement and spread was more rapid.²⁰ By the time of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, the Apaches began to move south into Chihuahua. In 1683 they pressed on the Sumas on the west bank of the Rio Grande below El Paso, and shortly afterwards in 1684 they made a league with the Sumas in Chihuahua.²¹ From this region the Apaches spread into southeastern Arizona and Sonora. The use of the term thus began in New Mexico and

17. *Ibid.*, Series III, pt. I, pp. 28-29; See also Adolph F. Bandelier, "Documentary History, of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico," (NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW), vol. 5, p. 342 where he said Chichimecatl was used for roving and warlike people; See Carl Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico*, Ibero-Americana, no. 5, p. 7 (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1934) for same use by Ponce in 1587; also Frederick W. Putnam, *Report upon U.S. Geographical Surveys west of the 100th Meridian*, vol. 7, p. 3 (Washington, 1879) and Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, p. 365.

18. Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series III, pt. I, p. 180; Zárate in Charles F. Lummis, tr., *Fray Zarate Salmeron's Relación*, Land of Sunshine, vol. 12, p. 183; F. W. Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, p. 19 (Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, 1937); Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, pp. 217-218; Worcester, "The Beginnings of the Apache Menace . . .," NMHR., vol. 16, p. 5; Earliest use in 1598 in Oñate's Obediencia y vasallaje de San Juan Baptista in *Doc. Ind. de Indias*, XVI, p. 114 "Todos los Apaches desde la Sierra Nevada hacia la parte del Norte y Poniente."

19. F. W. Hodge, et al., *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, pp. 81-84 (vol. 4, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publication, 1540-1940. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1945).

20. Robert Denhardt, "The Beginning of American Horses, NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 13, p. 255. Worcester, The Beginnings of the Apache Menace . . ., NMHR, vol. 16, p. 5 implies as early as 1608.

21. Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series III, pt. I, pp. 91-92; Mendoza in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, pp. 316-317, 322-323.

recorded activity indicates a gradual spread to the south and west.

Up to the time of Kino's travels beginning in 1694 the region northeast of the San Pedro River, later occupied by the Apaches, was apparently uninhabited or sparsely so. In 1539 Fray Marcos noted a "despoblado" from near the San Pedro-Gila River junction to the Cibola (Zuni) villages.²² If his report is not to be accepted we still have the same evidence in 1540 as Coronado and his chroniclers mentioned the same thing.²³ Fray Marcos' report made record of actual contacts between the Sobaipuri and the Zuni.²⁴ In 1668 Bernardo Gruber, a German trader, went into New Mexico from Sonora with a pack train.²⁵ To do so he would have had to pass through what we now know as Apacheria. When Kino entered southern Arizona he recorded the Sobaipuri in 1691 along the San Pedro River and remarked that prior to the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 these Indians traded with the Spanish in New Mexico.²⁶ Velarde in 1716 wrote that the Sobaipuri formerly traded with the Hopi, but due to the *recent* occupation of the pass on the Gila by other Indians, they were unable to resume such trade.²⁷ Thus these early sources denote a late occupation by Indians between the Sobaipuri and New Mexico on the Arizona side of the line, probably post-1680.

Actually it was not the Apache who were first mentioned east of the San Pedro as Bolton earlier thought.²⁸ Kino referred to the Indians of that area as the Jcome in 1696

22. de Niza in G. P. Hammond & A. Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 74-75 (vol. 2, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque).

23. Castañeda in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition . . .*, pp. 482, 487, 517. Also Coronado and Relación del Suceso in *Ibid.*, pp. 555, 572.

24. de Niza in Adolph F. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the South-western Portion of the United States*, American Series V, p. 153 (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, Cambridge, 1890); Percy M. Baldwin, "Fray Marcos de Niza and his Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. I, p. 226; de Niza in Hammond & Rey, *Narratives . . .*, pp. 68-74.

25. C. W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 3, pp. 271, 273-277. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937)

26. Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol 2, p. 257.

27. Velarde in Wyllys, Padre Luis Velarde's Relación . . . , NMHR., vol. 6, p. 139. He calls them Apache in one place and Nijora (Yavapai) in another.

28. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, p. 382.

along with the Jano in 1697. The first record of the Apache in this region was a mention, but not an actual observation, of an Apache group in 1697 when Kino stated that Apacheria was north of the Gila after turning west from the mouth of the San Pedro River to proceed down the Gila. First actual evidence of Apaches was noted in 1698 at Santa Cruz de Quiburi on the San Pedro, not north of the Gila.²⁹ Bandelier has indicated that the Jano and Suma, who were allies of the Apache and who were also mentioned at this same time, were late arrivals in southeastern Arizona from northwestern Chihuahua, having begun their spread after 1684 when they went in league together.³⁰

Sauer obtained information in the Parral Archives which further substantiates a late arrival for the Jano in southeastern Arizona. He noted the Jano ranged in southwestern New Mexico while the Jocomo were in southeastern Arizona and that both, according to Vetancourt in 1686, spoke the same language. At this time they were friendly with the Pima, the latter having given them some land to plant in the Quiburi area near Fairbank, Arizona, according to Sauer. In his treatment of these groups Sauer considered the possibility that the Jano and Jocomo may have been Athapascans, not Uto-Aztecs.³¹ Kroeber, in reviewing Sauer's evidence placed these two tribes tentatively in the Uto-Aztecan language group, deciding against the Athapaskan.³² When one considers that the Piman speakers gave these neighbors land, it appears more logical that such an arrangement would be made more readily with kindred Uto-Aztecan speakers and not with Athapascans *who were not farmers*.

The Apaches, after their entry into Chihuahua, with the aid of their companions in league, either displaced or absorbed the Jocomo in southeastern Arizona. Opler has remarked on the similarity of the Mescalero of southwestern New Mexico and Chiricahua Apache of southeastern Ari-

29. Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, pp. 165, 169, 172, 180.

30. Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series III, pt. I, p. 114.

31. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages . . .*, pp. 75, 81.

32. A. L. Kroeber, *Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico*, Ibero-Americana, No. 8, p. 15 (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1934).

zona as opposed to the Western Apache.³³ This is in accord with the documented spread of the Apaches from southwestern New Mexico into Chihuahua and then into southeastern Arizona. Perhaps the group that moved south into Mexico and later into Arizona was an offshoot of the Mescaleros that evolved into the Chiricahua Apache.

North of the Gila there were no Apaches. From 1583 to 1605 Espejo, Farfan, and Oñate described a group on the middle Verde River which has been accepted as the Yavapai.³⁴ Kino in 1710 included the Yavapai in his references to Apacheria as he stated this area was to the north and northeast of the Pima and extended northwest to the Colorado River.³⁵ His use of the term Apache was loose in this respect as he never once recorded actually seeing one Apache north of the Gila. Moreover, in 1716, Velarde referred to the Nijora, a *Yuman-speaking group*, north and east of the Pima,³⁶ probably the southeastern Yavapai as indicated by other documentary sources noted in a discussion below. In 1743 Keler attempted to reach the Hopi villages from the Gila area and was forced to turn back due to an attack by a group of Indians who spoke a language different from that of the Pima,³⁷ probably the Yavapai. In 1744 Sedelmayr, in 1776 Garcés, and prior to 1767 Pfefferkorn noted the Yavapai north of the Gila Pimas.³⁸ Thus even at this late date the Apache had not yet reached the Pima from the north or the northeast.

The stronghold of the southern Apaches from 1680 until

33. Marvin E. Opler, *A Note on the Cultural Affiliations of Northern Mexican Nomads*, p. 702 (vol. 37, *American Anthropologist*, Menasha).

34. See footnote 78.

35. Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 198 and vol. 2, p. 256.

36. Velarde in Wyllys, "Padre Luis Velarde's *Relación . . .*," *NMHR.*, vol. 6, p. 117.

37. Venegas in A. P. Whipple, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 116 (33rd Congress, 2nd session, Executive Document no. 91): Sedelmayr in Ives, *Sedelmayr's Relación . . .*, p. 112 said Apaches fell on him.

38. Sedelmayr in *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 113; Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 445, 451, 460-462; Pfefferkorn in Treutlein, *Pfefferkorn's Description . . .*, vol. XII, p. 29. One must bear in mind that Pfefferkorn left the area in 1767 at which time the Jesuits were expelled and he wrote later in 1794.

the 1700's was in the headwaters of the Gila in New Mexico. From 1698 through 1744 actual observations by Kino, Velarde, and Sedelmayr located the Apaches on the Gila above the mouth of the San Pedro River and also to the east of the San Pedro.³⁹ The Rudo Ensayo in 1762 and Pfefferkorn reaffirm this distribution, the former being rather explicit, stating the Rio de Assumption was formed by two rivers (Verde and Salt) taking rise in an extensive ridge of mountains *in the land of the Apaches on the other side of the Gila further toward the east.*⁴⁰

The very use of the term Gila Apaches has led to many additional misconceptions. They did not frequent the middle Gila, only the region east of the mouth of the San Pedro and the San Pedro River itself. Velarde in 1716 and Garcés in 1776 pointed out that those groups north of the middle Gila were Yuman speakers. Garcés stated they were Yavapai *often referred to as Apaches by the Spanish.*⁴¹ As an illustration of such one finds Marin, in 1693, referring to the Yavapai of the Middle Verde as Apaches Cruzados, and Escalante in 1775 stating that south of the Hopi were Apaches "who do not attack as the rest do."⁴² Historic Pima legends refer to the Apache of the north in prehistoric times. This had been interpreted as meaning the same as the historic Apache when actually they were simply referring to enemies of the north, the prehistoric Sinagua. Kino, as above noted, may have been partially to blame for misinterpretation along these lines since he referred to the Apache between the Pima and the Hopi.

It is interesting to note that the Southeastern Yavapai use the term Apache in referring to themselves meaning

39. Velarde in Wyllis, "Padre Luis Velarde's *Relación . . .*," NMHR, vol. 6, no. 2, p. 139; Sedelmayr in Ives, *Sedelmayr's Relación . . .*, p. 113; Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, pp. 172, 198-199 and vol. 2, p. 256.

40. Pfefferkorn in Treutlein, *Pfefferkorn's Description . . .*, p. 144; Guiteras, *Rudo Ensayo*, ACHS, vol. 5, p. 129.

41. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, p. 208; Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series III, pt. 1, pp. 113-114 quotes Garcés "que es lo mismo que Apaches."

42. Hackett, *Historical Documents . . .*, vol. 2, p. 395; Escalante to Mendinueta in Alfred B. Thomas, ed., *Forgotten Frontiers . . .*, 1777-87, p. 151 (Norman, Oklahoma, 1932).

"persons." They called their eastern Apache enemies "Awache" as did the Northeastern and Western Yavapai.⁴³ Bandelier also commented on the use of Apache. He considered Garcés' use of the term Yavapai, remarking it was in a sense similar to the present use of Apache where it is attached to names of tribes entirely distinct from the Apache, as Apache-Mohave, Apache-Yuma, and Tonto-Apache.⁴⁴ Apparently, on the basis of such misapplication of the term, Thomas placed the west boundary of the Apache as far as the Colorado River.⁴⁵ Additional evidence concerning this phase of the problem is considered below in the discussions of the Yavapai.

In east-central Arizona the earliest references to Apache groups are relatively late. In the general campaign of 1747 in the San Francisco River area down to the Gila River, Indians were encountered and called Apaches. Other were recorded in the White Mountains first in 1808.⁴⁶ Some historians have attempted to place the Apache in this region prior to 1747. Bandelier was under the impression that the Apache were occupying the region between the Sobaipuri and the Zuni in Fray Marcos' and Coronado's day, stating "although they were there, as was subsequently ascertained: and this is accounted for by the numerous escort of Indians which accompanied both him and the negro Estevan."⁴⁷ Aside from this statement he gives no evidence to support his view. Fray Marcos' account, if it is accepted, indicates the Indians voluntarily went along and no mention for purposes of protection is noted. Coronado's chroniclers referred to the area as a despoblado, perhaps only a relative term.

The only indication of a group between the Sobaipuri and the Zuni prior to 1747 that may have been the Apache, was Castañeda's reference to a group near the mouth of the

43. E. W. Gifford, *The Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 181 (vol. 29, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley, 1932); E. W. Gifford, *Northeastern and Western Yavapai Myths*, pp. 252-253 (vol. 34, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley, 1933).

44. Adolph F. Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series IV, pt. II, p. 379.

45. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers . . .*, p. 1.

46. Escalante to Mendinueta in *Ibid.*, p. 154; Rabal in Ralph E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 219 (Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, 1914); and Salcedo in *Ibid.*, p. 489.

47. Bandelier, *Contributions . . .*, American Series V, p. 175.

San Pedro who were the most barbarous they had encountered, who lived in separate huts and who hunted for food.⁴⁸ Sauer considered these as Apache.⁴⁹ They may well have been Jocomes or even northern Sobaipuri as Mange stated in the 1690's that he and Kino encountered 4 Sobaipuri villages near the Gila with a total of 500 souls living in 130 houses of poles and reeds in the form of dome and gallery,⁵⁰ and Velarde in 1716 noted that the Sobaipuri lived in settlements in the winter and in single huts in the summer.⁵¹ Since Coronado came through this region before winter, since these "barbarous" Indians were not mentioned as being specifically different from the others on the San Pedro through which Coronado had just previously passed, since Kino did distinguish between the northern and southern Sobaipuri which would allow for a difference in culture as implied by Castañeda, and Mange described crude huts used by the Sobaipuri, the weight of the evidence is against the Apache. If this 1540 observation was an Apache group, we must assume the Sobaipuri drove them out soon after as the sources already mentioned recorded trade through this area with New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Rebellion and do not specifically mention the Apache here until 1698.

There is considerable confusion in regard to the Tontos who were first reported as Coyoteros or Mescaleros in the Pinal Mountains in 1788.⁵² In 1799 Pedro de Nava wrote a letter requesting information on the so-called Tontos and Prietos; Apaches Coyoteros (alias Tonto, alias del Pinal) near the presidio of Tucson.⁵³ Barreiro's Ojeada also refers to them as Tontos or Coyoteros in 1828.⁵⁴ It is after this date that the confusion arises. Gifford reported that the Tonto were Athapascan and were first united in 1874 under Chali-

48. Castañeda in Hammond & Rey, *Narratives . . .*, p. 252; and in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, p. 516.

49. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages . . .*, p. 53.

50. Mange in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 171.

51. Velarde in Wyllys, "Padre Luis Velarde's *Relación . . .*," NMHR, vol. 6, p. 134.

52. Zuñiga in George P. Hammond, "The Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fe," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 6, p. 63.

53. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives . . .*, vol. 2, p. 395.

54. Lansing Bloom, tr., "Barreiro's Ojeada," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 3, p. 174.

pan which is an Athapascan name and he further remarked that many Tontos were part Yavapai in blood and bilingual in speech.⁵⁵ However, Gatschet indicated earlier that the Tontos were not Apache, but a Yuman-speaking group.⁵⁶ On this basis Bandelier surmised that the Tonto as Yavapai were later absorbed by the Apache.⁵⁷ Of interest in this respect is the fact that the Yavapai (first called Cruzados by Oñate in 1598) told Corbusier in 1886 that it was the Yavapai (northeastern) who had cane crosses,⁵⁸ and later in 1936 they informed Gifford that it was the Tonto, not the Yavapai, who wore cane crosses.⁵⁹ Historical references to the Yavapai of the middle Verde Valley and to the west from the 1860's on refer to them as Apache-Mohave or Mohave-Apache, indicating along with the above that the northeastern Yavapai possibly became pretty well mixed with other groups in the 1800's.⁶⁰ Modern reservation Yavapai state they can best converse with the Mohave, the Yuma less so, and the Tonto with difficulty. The fact that the Yavapai refer to their eastern Apache neighbors as "Awache" meaning enemy, and to the Tonto as "Awakaya" meaning sticky or dirty people might indicate mixture in the latter's case. The latter are more politely referred to as "Ahawa" meaning something like enemy.⁶¹

In recent years Goodwin placed the northern Tonto on the middle Verde from Camp Verde north to Flagstaff and the southern Tonto east of the Verde below Clear Creek to the Salt River. He further remarked that the three west-

55. Gifford, *The Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 181; Gifford, *Northeastern and Western Yavapai*, p. 253.

56. Gatschet in George M. Wheeler, *Annual Report upon the Geographical Exploration and Surveys west of the 100th Meridian, etc.*, p. 184 (Washington, 1875) "With the Apache dialects and that of the Tonto Apaches, who call themselves Gohuns, and belong to the Yuma stock, I found . . ." See also Gatschet in Putnam, *Report upon U. S. Geographical Surveys . . .*, vol. 7, pp. 406, 414, 415.

57. Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series III, pt. I, pp. 102, 113-114; Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, American Series IV, pt. II, p. 467.

58. William F. Corbusier, "The Apache-Yumas and Apache-Mohaves," *American Antiquarian*, no. 8, p. 337.

59. Gifford, *Northeastern and Western Yavapai*, p. 319.

60. Corbusier, "The Apache-Yumas and Apache-Mohaves," *American Antiquarian*, no. 8, pp. 276-284 and 325-339; Edmund Wells, *Argonaut Tales* (Hitchcock Co., 1927); Hodge notes the name Tonto was applied to the Tulkepaia (Yavapai) and Apache in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, . . .*, p. 458.

61. Gifford, *The Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 181; Gifford, *Northeastern and Western Yavapai*, pp. 252-253.

ernmost bands of the northern Tonto intermingled with the Northeastern Yavapai who shared the region with them.⁶²

The Tonto are first referred to as Yavapai people and later as a mixture of Yavapai and Apache. In recent times the name Tonto has been taken to refer to an Apache group. Since we definitely know that in 1716 a Yuman-speaking group was northeast of the Pima and have no definite reference to the Apache in the Tonto lands until the Tonto are first mentioned, we must assume that the Apache entry from the east into this section of Arizona occurred late in the 1700's.

There is other evidence to support this supposition. The Yabipais Tejua (Yavapai near the Yumas at the mouth of the Gila River) told Garcés in 1776 that among their friends were certain Yavapai of the east who were enemies of the Spanish whom these friends feared because many Spanish entered their lands.⁶³ If this statement refers to true Yavapai it can only allude to the southeastern Yavapai being effected at that date by various Spanish expeditions into eastern Arizona. The Spanish were attempting to open a road from Santa Fe to Sonora as well as to eliminate the true Apache menace. The drives were the general campaign of 1747 which entered the San Francisco River area, the Zuni expedition of 1754 into the upper Gila country, and the expeditions into the area during Garcés' day from Janos and Fronteras. These expeditions indicate along with Velarde's observation of 1716 that the San Francisco River area to the Gila River may have been Yavapai country. Miera, who had been in the 1747 campaign, told Escalante that near the mouth of the San Francisco River was an "Apache" rancheria *where corn was raised*. In 1754 Barreira noted various "Apaches" in the same area *who did not roam about or have horses, but who had much corn*. In 1775 Escalante wrote at Zuni that the Hopi were bounded on the south and southwest by Apache "who live on this side (north) of the Gila and who do not attack as the rest do." Echegaria in 1788 and Zuñiga, who came through this general vicinity in 1795, mentioned no specific rancheria, but did note hostile

62. Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Divisions and Economic Life of the Western Apaches*, pp. 55-56 (vol. 37, *American Anthropologist*, Menasha, 1935).

63. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 209-210.

Indians and smoke signals.⁶⁴ Perhaps between 1754 and 1788 these corn-raising, quite possibly Yavapai, who did not roam about on horses, moved west in the face of the incoming Apache who were being pushed into the area by the Spanish from all directions except north and west, as well as by the Comanche from the east. Perhaps continued Apache inroads to the west between 1754 and 1788 brought about the first mixture of Apache and Yavapai groups.

The lack of any reference to Indians in the despoblado between the San Pedro River and the Zuni villages in 1540, and the definite presence of Indians there in 1699 and 1716 (the latter reference definitely applying to Yavapai) brings up another point bearing on the Yavapai and Apache. Since Benavides recorded the Apache de Gila to the east of this region in the headwaters of the Gila in 1630, a group that did some farming in contrast to a true Apache group to the east of them, the Perrillo Apache with their dog and travois who at this time were strict nomads,⁶⁵ it appears quite likely that the Apache de Gila may have been Yavapai or were Apache who picked up farming from their western Yavapai neighbors. On this basis, the Yavapai entry into this general region might well be set back, from Velarde's observation of a Yuman-speaking group in 1716, to 1630, and probably into prehistoric times.

Final evidence which bears on a recent Apache entry into the region is found in Zuñiga's diary of 1788. He stated that Zuni was menaced by the Coyotero Apaches of the Pinals to the south (Yavapai-Apache?) who were there (at Zuni) called Mescaleros (Escalante's designation of the Yavapai south of the Hopi) and to the north by Apaches of the San Francisco and Mogollon Ranges. "*They have penetrated inland pursued by our arms. They are called Gileños there.*"⁶⁶

64. Escalante to Mendinueta in Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers . . .*, pp. 12, 155-156; Rabal in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives . . .*, vol. 2, p. 219; Zuñiga in Hammond, *The Zuñiga Journal . . .*, NMHR, vol. 6, pp. 34,59,61.

65. Hodge, *Benavides' Revised Memorial*, pp. 81-84.

66. Hammond, *The Zuñiga Journal . . .*, NMHR, vol. 6, p. 63. As early as 1744 Sedelmayr suggested placing forts on the Gila River, at Terrenate and Coro de Guache on the south, and at Janos in the east. This general plan was later followed resulting in a northern move "inland" by the Apache. See Ives, *Sedelmayr's Relación . . .*, p. 113.

No matter how one interprets the evidence, there is no possible manner by which the Apache can be placed anywhere near the Hohokam of the Gila-Salt River areas in pre-historic times. They were first noted in 1540 as Querechos and were restricted to the eastern half of New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande, at least prior to 1583 as both Rodriguez and Espejo found a long stretch along the river uninhabited in their travels. The term Querecho, like Chichimeco, was haphazardly applied to other groups in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. After Spanish settlement on the Rio Grande, the word "Apache" replaced Querecho and again the new term was applied to miscellaneous non-related groups. By 1630 the Apache de Perrillo had crossed to the west side of the Rio Grande. After the adoption of the horse by these Apache around 1660, they became more mobile and by the time of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 there was a concentration in southwestern New Mexico. By 1684 some of this group reached Chihuahua where they began their absorption of the Jano and Suma groups. Spanish retaliation in Chihuahua forced these Apaches into southeastern Arizona by 1698 where they apparently absorbed the Jcome and by 1700 they had entered Sonora.

Campaigns by the Spanish from Zuni in 1747 and 1754, as well as others from Chihuahua and the highway along the Rio Grande, had the effect of forcing these Apaches of southwestern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona toward the west where by 1762 they in turn forced the Sobaipuri out of the San Pedro west into the Santa Cruz Valley. Retaliation from this southeastern area up to 1780, as well as coordinated efforts from Janos and Fronteras, caused the southern Apache to move back into the Chiricahua Range and also into the San Francisco River area for refuge. In the latter region, about 1788, the Apache probably dislodged the above-discussed Yuman (probably Yavapai) groups, first observed here in 1716, who moved west. Additional thrusts from the south by the Spanish from 1780 to 1784 and later, kept the Apache moving toward the north which resulted in a Navaho-Gila Apache alliance in 1784. Even as

late as 1780 and 1786 the major part of the Apache attacks were still from New Mexico.⁶⁷

The above noted Navaho relations carried the Apache through the White Mountain region from 1784 on but they were not recorded as living in the area until 1808 by the Spanish.⁶⁸ It appears that Apache relations with the Navaho as well as with the Yavapai undoubtedly effected the culture of these westernmost Apache sufficiently to bring about a cultural difference which now distinguishes them from the Southern Apache whose culture was probably influenced by contacts with the Uto-Aztec groups of northern Mexico and southern Arizona. Probably the late 18th Century Navaho-Gila Apache relations evolved out of a combined movement toward one another. Farmer has indicated the Navaho began spreading over northwestern New Mexico after 1600 and by 1750 had moved west to Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, and south of Mt. Taylor in New Mexico. Bourke has indicated that many Western Apache and Navaho clans can be correlated further indicating close relations.⁶⁹ This implies considerable Navaho influence which apparently had its origin post-1780 A.D. Interestingly enough, the Chiricahua designation of the Western Apache as Biniedine, meaning "people with no sense," seemingly first appears in 1834.⁷⁰ This is 35 years after the first use of Tonto (fool) by the Spanish to designate a Western Apache group. There is no indication who actually used the term "fool" first, but both uses post-date the 1784 Navaho-Gila Apache alliance and the eviction of the Yavapai from eastern Arizona. If such a designation referred to a group in the Western Apache area or to the Western Apache as a group, it is strange that it, or some other name, does not appear before

67. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives . . .*, vol. 2, p. 300; Alfred B. Thomas, ed., "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 6, p. 37; Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers . . .*, pp. 45-46, 197; Navarro in *Ibid.*, p. 186 and Medino and Ugarte, pp. 359-360.

68. Letter of Nemesio Salcedo of 1809, #1936, Santa Fe Archive. "Coyotero Indians who inhabit the Pinal, Tabano and White Mountains, on the frontier of Sonora." See also his letter of 1808, #2142, wherein he states the Indians of the Pinals are intermediate to those of the White and Tabano Mountains.

69. Malcolm F. Farmer, *The Growth of Navaho Culture*, San Diego Museum Bulletin, vol. 6, p. 14; J. G. Bourke, "Notes on the Gentile Organization of the Apache of Arizona." *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 3, pp. 111-114.

70. Jose A. de Escudero, *Noticias estadísticas del estado de Chihuahua*, p. 212 (Mexico, 1834).

1780 if such a group was in existence prior to that time. The weight of the evidence indicates a beginning of an Apache-Navaho mixture around 1780 wherein apparently the Navaho dominated to some extent, in this area closer to their home, over the scattered Apache groups driven north by the Spanish. The increasing Comanche pressure from the east on the Navaho in the early and middle 1700's also coincides with the first appearance of the Navaho in Arizona in the Hopi area and the region southwest of Zuni where they met the Apache.

On the basis of an Apache legend which relates of contacts with stone house dwellers it has been thought by some that such indicated the Western Apache were in this area at a date early enough to make contact with the prehistoric pueblo groups of the area. This legend is a record of the Tzekinne variously interpreted as "people of the rocks" or "stone house people." This group was composed of descendants of Apache and Sobaipuri people, the latter having been captured when the Apache drove the Sobaipuri out of Aravaipa Canyon in the early 1800's.⁷¹ The group and legend evolved out of historic fact, not a prehistoric event.

The present Western Apache area was described as a despoblado in 1540. First actual record of Apache here was in 1805. Between these two dates reference is made to two groups possibly living in the area concerned. These groups, the Cipias and Ypotlapiguas, first are mentioned in 1632 in Spanish documents and as yet neither have been identified. Most authorities have placed them in northern Sonora apparently on the basis of Orozco y Berra's reference of 1860 to the Potlapigua in the Babispe Valley of Sonora. However, the earliest sources to refer to these groups, 1632-1648, locate them south and west of Zuni.⁷²

Custodio Manso stated he discovered the Ypotlapiguas in

71. Bourke, *Notes on Apache Mythology*, p. 114.

72. Bandelier, *Final Report . . .*, Amer. Series IV, pt. II, p. 381; Frank H. Cushing, *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths*, p. 328 (13th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1896); Fewkes, *Two Summers' Work . . .*, p. 23; France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 5, pp. 189-190; France V. Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 47-66; France V. Scholes, "Church and State in New Mexico, 1618-50," *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 288, 301-302; Hodge, *History of Hawikuh*, pp. 91, 93, 123-124; Hodge, et al . . . *Benavides' Revised Memorial . . .*, p. 80.

1632 and that they lived next to the Cipias south and west of Zuni. For several years the friars had been interested in these groups. In 1638 some friars were selected to go to the Ypotlapigua country with Fray Antonio Artega as commissary of the group by appointment from Fray Juan de Salas, Custodio. In the spring of 1638 Governor Rosas led these friars and some soldiers to the area. On arrival among them, it was said the Governor forced the Ypotlapiguas to bring in feathers and hides, robbed them, and threatened to burn their villages with the result the Indians fled to the mountains. Perea made an investigation of the expedition.

In 1645, while Custodio, Manso sent 4 friars to preach to the Ypotlapiguas who lived near the Cipias. Following this effort the Jesuits visited them and a controversy over their jurisdiction was started. In 1699 Mange mentioned the Potlapiguas in association with the Opatas of north-eastern Sonora.

Sauer believed that Orozco y Berra's designation of these as a Piman group was incorrect. Noting that Mange had recorded Franciscan activity among the Ypotlapigua, he tentatively placed them in northwestern Chihuahua in the Franciscan domain thus removing them from Jesuit Sonora. He concluded the name may be Concho.⁷³

As to the Cipias, the first mention of them is concerned with Fray Francisco Letrado who learned of them while among the Zunis who told him they were to the west. Letrado applied to go to these Indians, but was refused and Fray Martin de Arvide was sent instead. He went in 1632 and on February 27, 5 days out of Zuni, he was killed in his camp by Zunis. These Cipias supposedly lived in northern Sonora.

In 1634 Benavides made a brief reference to the Zipios. In 1638 and 1645 they were referred to as living near the Ypotlapiguas. In 1686 Fray Alonso de Posadas said the Cipias lived north of Sonora where they were pressed upon by the Apache.⁷⁴ In the late 1800's the Zunis told Cushing

73. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages . . .*, p. 51.

74. C. F. Duro, 1882, pp. 62-63. An earlier edition in *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, 3rd Series, Mexico, 1856, pp. 220-221 gives the author's name as Fray Alonso de Paredes, rather than Posadas.

that the Cipias were a people who lived far to the southwest on the headwaters of the Salt River. They called them Tsi-piakwe (kwe=people) meaning "people of the coarse hanging hair." Since the Yavapai wore their hair long in contrast to the Zuni, they (the Zuni) may have selected this trait in referring to the Cipias who might well have been Yavapai. Bandelier, on the basis of Cushing's information, placed the Cipias in Arizona south of the Hopi saying the Zuni had lost track of them completely. According to Cushing the Zuni stated the Cipia were exterminated by the Apache soon after the attempted visit of Arivide.

The Hopi informed Fewkes that according to the Zuni the Cipia lived between them and Zuni and also that the Zuni called a ruin midway between Awatobi and Zuni Tcippiya. On this basis Fewkes placed the Cipia at the mouth of Chevlon Fork west of Zuni.

Several factors stand out that must be considered in analyzing the situation. First, it must be kept in mind that Sonora and the region to the south was Jesuit domain. The southern Opata of Sonora (modern geographic limits) were first reached in 1622 by Padre Olinano. The west central section of Sonora was not reached by the Jesuits until after 1630, and the north section was untouched until Kino's entry of the 1690's. To the east in Chihuahua, the Franciscans began moving west toward the Sonora line about 1650 when the Sumas of the area, bordering on Babispe, were being brought into the fold.⁷⁵ So even the eastern border of Sonora was not reached until 1650, this being 18 years after the Ypotlapigua and Cipia are first mentioned. Thus, a Sonoran location is not possible in this area as far as the Franciscan domain is concerned.

Also to be considered is the fact that the north boundary of Sonora was never established in the 1600's. The people of Santa Fe referred to the region to the southwest as Sonora. In addition, New Mexico was under the Franciscan order and everything to the west was considered within their domain. Moreover, all expeditions went into the Cipia and

75. Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages . . .*, pp. 46-47, 70-71.

Ypotlapigua country from New Mexico, not Chihuahua, and all personnel concerned were from New Mexico. The statement that the Cipias were pressed on by the Apache in 1686 and a similar remark by the Zunis in the late 1800's, intimating that they were exterminated by the Apache in the middle or late 1600's, certainly suggests that the Cipia were non-Apache.

The above points indicate an Arizona location rather than Sonoran. Mange, a late source, is the only one who gives a possible true Sonoran location and then only to the Ypotlapiguas who by this date (1699) may have been forced south and west by Apache pressure into Sonora. The statements of the Zuni and Posadas pertaining to Apache pressure on the Cipia correlates with the Apache pressure building up in southwestern New Mexico in the headwaters of the Gila at that time, the late 1600's. Such had not effected Sonora until the beginning of the 18th Century. Moreover, the Zuni located the Cipia in what Cushing took to mean the headwaters of the Salt River. On the basis of the foregoing discussions on the Apache and Yavapai, it appears that the people of the coarse hanging hair, the non-Apachean Cipias, were probably Yavapai people living in the southeastern section of the Yavapai country in the headwaters of the Salt and Gila Rivers near another possible Yavapai group, the 1630 mention of the Apache de Gila. The Ypotlapiguas probably were a more southern group since Mange gives them a Sonoran location and the Franciscans and Jesuits, who had a controversy over them, bordered one another's domains only in northern Mexico at this early date. Thus, the Cipias, the only possible group in the Western Apache region between 1540 and 1805, cannot be considered as Apache, much less Navaho.

To return to the Apache proper, the derivation of the word Apache is problematical. Several authorities have proposed various explanations regarding its origin. (See Hodge and Bandelier who indicate Yuman and/or a possible Zuni origin.) Another possibility is presented here along lines suggested by Harrington.⁷⁶

76. John P. Harrington, *Southern Peripheral Athapascan Origins, Divisions, and*

The words "Apades" and "Apiches" occur first in documents pertaining to Oñate's explorations. He and several of his henchmen went through Yuman-speaking areas (Yavapai) in 1598, 1599, 1604-05. Perhaps they picked up the Yavapai word "Apache" meaning "persons" directly from them or even before this indirectly from some other group. One of two possibilities present themselves. Either documents exist pertaining to these groups which make use of the term Apache prior to 1598, or the word was known to the Spanish prior to its use in literature at this date. The use first of "Apiche" or "Apade" implies either a misprint in copying or a misspelling of the word "Apache," both of which suggest prior use.

Yavapai

Reference is now made to the Yuman tribes. It is interesting to note that Yavapai legends appear to indicate a relatively long period of occupation in Arizona. The South-eastern Yavapai claim origin in the San Francisco Mountains at Flagstaff, and relate of a later split from the North-eastern Yavapai in the middle Verde Valley of central Arizona after which they moved south. Gifford stated his evidence tends to show the Yavapai were not in the Verde Valley much over 400 years. The Western Yavapai claim origin in the middle Verde Valley at Montezuma Well or in the Red Rock country later splitting and moving southwest from the Northeastern Yavapai.⁷⁷ Thus, the Yavapai near the Gila claim origin north of their present habitat and recount of a split in the Verde Valley all of which indicates a general move to the south.

Historically Espejo first encountered the Yavapai in the middle Verde Valley in 1583 where they were also noted by Farfan, Escobar, Zaldivar, and Oñate from 1598 up through

Migrations, p. 513 (vol. 100, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1940).

[See also, Barbara Aitken, *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 26, pp. 334-35 (October, 1951) Ed.]

77. Gifford, *The Southeastern Yavapai*, pp. 243, 247; Gifford, *Northeastern and Western Yavapai Myths*, pp. 349, 403-404; Gifford, *Northeastern and Western Yavapai*, p. 251.

1605.⁷⁸ In 1700 Kino remarked that entry to the Hopi was difficult from Pimería as the Pima were "on very unfriendly terms with the Apaches who live between."⁷⁹ These were undoubtedly the Yavapai who Kino always referred to as Apache north of the Gila. In 1716, Velarde mentioned the Nijores, locating them between the Gila and Colorado Rivers to the northeast of Pima country. He further remarked that they were Yuman-speaking people with whom the Pima fought, and that north of them were the Cruciferos to whom the cross was a sacred sign. This source thus definitely discards the possibility of Apache north of the Gila by recording Yuman speakers in the area. A map in the Genaro García collection places the Nijores at the headwaters of the San Francisco River, perhaps based on Humboldt's map of 1804.⁸⁰ From 1583 to 1605 Espejo, and others who entered the middle Verde, described the native custom of wearing crosses on the forehead for which Oñate named the Yavapai "Cruzados." Thus, Velarde's remarks indicate the Cruciferos were the Northeastern Yavapai and the Nijores were the Southeastern group. The legendary split must then of necessity have occurred before 1716 as at that time the Southeastern Yavapai were fighting with the Sobai-puri, and the latter had sufficient knowledge of the Northeastern Yavapai further north to distinguish them from their enemies, the Nijores or Southeastern Yavapais.

In 1746 Sedelmayer wrote that further up in 37 degrees, north of the Cocomaricopa, were the Nijores who spoke the Yuman language and with whom the Cocomaricopa had friendly relations.⁸¹ On his trip to the Cocomaricopa on the Gila in 1744 he decided to go further west. From the villages below the Gila-Salt junction he proceeded more or less west-north-west to the Colorado River passing near what was

78. Luxán in Hammond & Rey, *The Espejo Expedition . . .*, pp. 106-107; Espejo in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, p. 187; Zarate in Lummis, *Fray Zarate Salmeron's Relación*, p. 182; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, pp. 83, 187, 270; George P. Hammond, "Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 1, pp. 450, 470.

79. Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 237.

80. Reproduced in H. B. Carroll & J. V. Haggard, *Three New Mexico Chronicles* (Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1942).

81. Sedelmayer in Ives, *Sedelmayer's Relación . . .*, pp. 108, 110.

later the southern border of the Western Yavapai country. However, he did not mention the presence of any Indians along that route.⁸² In 1758 Venegas recorded the Cocomaricopa at war with the Nijores, the prisoners being sold to the Pima.⁸³ In 1774 Garcés attempted to reach the Nifora but couldn't due to Pima hostilities with them.⁸⁴ In 1776 he called the group north of the Cocomaricopa Yabipais Tejua, and stated that they knew only one Cocomaricopa village further remarking that both the Pima and Cocomaricopa fought them. Font placed the Yavapai north of the Gila on his map.⁸⁵ In 1794 Pfefferkorn referred to the group north of the Cocomaricopa in 1767 as Nichoras who extended from the northerly side of the Gila to the Sierra Azul. He also remarked that the Cocomaricopa were constantly at war with them.⁸⁶

Thus, the name first given, Nijores, referred to the Southeastern Yavapai, and other forms—Nifora, Noragua, Nichora—were later used to designate Yavapai groups, probably all Southeastern Yavapai. Pfefferkorn in 1794 used the term Nichora, after Garcés' 1776 designation of Yabipais Tejua, probably due to the fact that he left the area in 1767 with the expulsion of the Jesuits and wrote his report at a later date. Garcés also employed the name Apache for the Yavajai. He stated “. . . there arrived here [in the Yuma area] 9 Indians whose nation they here call Yabipais Tejua, and we Apaches.” He also noted the Pima called the Yabipais Taros or Nifores, the Mohave called them Yavapais, and the Spanish called them Apache. “All those whom I designate by the name Yabipais are in reality Apaches.”⁸⁷

On the basis of the above discussion, the Southeastern Yavapai as a threat to the prehistoric Hohokam might be discounted since their presence is not recorded until possibly as early as 1630 in the form of the Gila Apache (or Ciplas in

82. Sedelmayr in *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 110.

83. Venegas in Whipple, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . .*, p. 116.

84. Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, p. 45.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 452. Font map on frontispiece.

86. Pfefferkorn, *Description of the Landscape of Sonora . . .*, vol. 1, p. 6; Treutlein, *Pfefferkorn's Description of Sonora*, p. 29.

87. Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 402, 417, 432, 445, 446, 457.

1632) and definitely by 1716 in the vicinity of the upper Gila some distance northeast of the Pima. Moreover, it is above passing interest to note that the Yavapai were on friendly relations with the Cocomaricopa in 1744, but in 1758 they were being taken as prisoners, and in 1767 and 1774 they were constantly at war with the Pima. This coincides with the aforementioned possible Southeastern Yavapai withdrawal from the San Francisco River area between 1754 and 1788 due to Apache pressure, and perhaps represents the beginning of Southeastern Yavapai incursions to the west on Cocomaricopa territory. The fact that they knew only one Cocomaricopa village in 1776 adds further to this belief that they were newcomers to the more western region.

Maricopa

The Maricopa are the last Yuman group to be considered. When first recorded as the Cocomaricopa by Kino in 1694, the Pima told him this group lived on the lower Gila, on the Rio Colorado and Rio Azul (Bill Williams River).⁸⁸ Spier remarked in his studies of this same area that Maricopa, Kaveltcadom, and Halchidoma cultures were essentially alike prior to their mixture in the 1800's, thus supporting Kino's statement with modern ethnological studies.⁸⁹ In 1744 Sedelmayr reported that the Cocomaricopa on the lower Gila were the same as those on the Colorado River as far up as the Rio Azul.⁹⁰ After Garcés' travels in 1776, the term Cocomaricopa was restricted to the group on the Gila below the junction of the Gila and Salt Rivers. The other groups to the west and north on the Colorado River were referred to as Jalchedun (Halchidhoma).⁹¹

Often heard is the statement that the Maricopa recently came up the Gila from the Colorado River. Emory suggested that the Maricopa moved gradually from the Gulf of California to their present location in juxtaposition with the Pimas. He stated that Carson found them as late as the year

88. Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 128.

89. Leslie Spier, *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, preface p. ix (University of Chicago Press, 1933).

90. Sedelmayr in Ives, *Sedelmayr's Relación . . .*, p. 108. This statement he may have borrowed from Kino as he did from Mange concerning Pima legends.

91. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 443-444.

1826 at the mouth of the Gila, and that Dr. Anderson, who passed from Sonora to California in 1828, found them on the Gila a few miles west of the Pima.⁹² The observation of Carson, as Spier points out, was a probable Halchidhoma flight to Sonora.⁹³ Gatschet stated the Maricopa had been in their habitat for centuries,⁹⁴ and Kino's explorations indicate that as the Cocomaricopa they had been on the Gila River since 1694.

It is with these Cocomaricopa on the Gila that we have additional reference to the Pima. I have found no specific mention or discussion of this situation in modern literature. Kino was the first to give us evidence of this material. He reported that a Yuman-speaking Cocomaricopa fiscal, who came to visit him while among the Pima, understood Pima. From him Kino, in 1694, obtained the information that some of his people knew both languages well.⁹⁵ He also stated "there are always among them (Cocomaricopa) many Pimas and others who speak the Pima language well."⁹⁶ On another occasion Kino noted that the Pima language was extensively spoken among the Cocomaricopa, Yuma and Quiquima.⁹⁷ In 1698 he noted on the occasion of an Opa and Cocomaricopa visit to San Andrés on the Gila that their dress, features and language were distinct from the Pima though they were connected by marriage with the Pima.⁹⁸ In 1699 he reported 50 Pima, Yuma, Opa, and Cocomaricopa were gathered at the Gila-Colorado River junction, and he named this spot San Pedro. In 1700 he referred to the Pima, Opa, and Cocomaricopa governors from near the Rio Colorado.⁹⁹ In 1701 he arrived at San Pedro where "Yumas and Pima natives mingled, welcome us."¹⁰⁰ There

92. W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, etc.*, p. 89 (30th Congress, 1st session, Senate Executive Document no. 7, Executive Document no. 41, Washington, 1948); see also A. P. Whipple, T. Eubank, and W. W. Turner, *Pacific Railroad Reports*, vol. 3, pp. 101-102 (1855).

93. Spier, *Yuman Tribes . . .*, p. 39.

94. Gatschet in Putnam, *Report . . .*, vol. 7, p. 415.

95. Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 128.

96: *Ibid.*, p. 246.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 480.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 235.

100. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.

is no doubt, on the basis of the above information, that the use of the Pima language, as well as the observation of the Pima in various localities, covers a wider area than we have been accustomed to think.

In 1744 Sedelmayr noted the distance to the first Cocomaricopa village west of the Gila-Salt junction and along the bend of the Gila to the north was 12 leagues. He remarked that this rancheria was inhabited also by Pima and that most of them, as well as the Cocomaricopa, understood both languages. Moreover, the Pima here built their own individual huts, not the large house of the Cocomaricopa.¹⁰¹ Anza in 1774 reported that in the vicinity of Gila Bend were some Papago or Pima who left their own country due to drought. Diaz also noted some Pima in the easternmost village.¹⁰² Spier pointed out that Kino's names for the eastern Cocomaricopa villages were Piman in form, not Yuman.¹⁰³ Garcés stated in 1776 that those at Opasoitac, the eastern village, were clothed like the Pima but spoke Yuman. Further down stream, at San Bernardino, Garcés limited the west end of the Cocomaricopa nation and observed that though this was the end of the "Opa or Cocomaricopa nation . . . some of them are found further down river."¹⁰⁴ The above remarks are further indication of Piman living to the west of the Gila-Salt junction among the eastern Cocomaricopa villages.

A review of the literature reveals that those villages containing Pimas on the eastern end of the Cocomaricopa territory are those referred to by the Spanish as Opas. Spier considered the Opa in his work on the Gila River Yuman tribes. He placed the Maricopa above Gila Bend prior to 1800, and the Kaveltcadom below the bend extending half-way down to the Colorado River. He concludes that the modern Maricopa are made up of a nucleus of Maricopa with small additions of Kaveltcadom and Halchidhoma joining them after the early 1800's.¹⁰⁵ If such is true, it is

101. Sedelmayr in Ives, *Sedelmayr's Relación . . .*, pp. 104, 107-109.

102. Anza and Diaz in Spier, *Yuman Tribes . . .*, pp. 31-32.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 28

104. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 116, 122, 123.

105. *Ibid.*, preface, p. ix.

difficult to understand why the name of the eastern group, the Opa, was not retained. As it is, the modern tribe is designated as Maricopa, derived from Cocomaricopa.

With the knowledge that Piman groups were actually living in the eastern villages, a point that Spier did not stress, another interpretation seems plausible. The use of the name Opa is encountered in early documented sources from 1694 through 1794. Kino used it first and such is seen on the N de Fer map of 1700 below the Gila-Salt junction and east of the Cocomaricopa who were located from Gila Bend west.¹⁰⁶ Both Garcés and Anza implied a separation as they reported population estimates for villages above and below Gila Bend.¹⁰⁷ The Rudo Ensayo used the term Opa and definitely separates it from the Cocomaricopa by a list of tribes as “. . . the Oopas, the Cocomaricopas . . .”¹⁰⁸ Garcés placed the Opas east of the Cocomaricopas and described a visit to the Cocomaricopa of Agua Caliente from where he journeyed east to the rancherias of the Opas.¹⁰⁹ Anza, though he noted Opasoitac as a Cocomaricopa village, also said that in traveling up the Gila he came to the Cocomaricopa “after which came the Opas and Pimas.”¹¹⁰ Diaz reported that Opasoitac, another village one league to the west, and another 5 leagues further west were Opa.¹¹¹ Font also referred to those in the west at Agua Caliente as Cocomaricopa and those in the east at Opasoitac as Opas.¹¹² Garcés referred to Opasoitac as a settlement of the Opas at Gila Bend.¹¹³ Anza was the only one to refer to Opasoitac as the last Cocomaricopa upstream, though he did state both Opas and Cocomaricopa lived there.¹¹⁴

The chief point of confusion as Spier has pointed out seems to rest with these same sources. Font referred to the Opa and Cocomaricopa saying these were one and the same

106. I. A. Leonard, *Mercurio Volante* (Quivira Society, Los Angeles, 1932).

107. Spier, *Yuman Tribes* . . . , p. 3.

108. Guiteras, *Rudo Ensayo*, p. 131.

109. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer* . . . , pp. 436-437.

110. Anza in Spier, *Yuman Tribes* . . . , p. 36.

111. Diaz in *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

112. Font in *Ibid.*, p. 37.

113. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer* . . . , p. 113.

114. Anza in Spier, *Yuman Tribes* . . . , pp. 31-32.

distinguished only by the district they inhabited. Garcés said "of the Opa nation, or Cocomaricopa, which is the same," and "Opa or Cocomaricopa nation which is all one." Anza made the same statement.¹¹⁵ It will be noted, however, that these statements are restricted to the late explorers just prior to the discontinuance of the use of the term Opa.

On the basis of the above, it appears that the term Cocomaricopa was usually applied to the group extending from about Agua Caliente east to Gila Bend and, on occasions in later days, to the inhabitants from Gila Bend east toward the Gila-Salt River junction. These latter, where apparent Pima mixture occurred, were more often referred to as the Opa in the earlier days. After Garcés' time the eastern group was no longer differentiated. The fact remains that the majority of the Spanish did attempt to distinguish between two groups on the Gila, whatever the basis may have been. The Pima elements in the eastern group may have brought this about.

The word Cocomaricopa, for which Spier's informants could not offer any satisfactory etymology, was first used by Pimas on the Gila when informing Kino of these people down stream. Underhill has recently worked out a possible derivation of the word in the Piman language as follows: *Kokomarik* meaning "flat place" plus *aw-pap* (the last "p" barely audible) meaning "stranger" or "enemy"; thus, "flat place strangers" or "flat place enemies."¹¹⁶ Also similar is a name Lumholtz listed for a Papago village: *Kukomalik* which he interpreted as *Ku*, "large" or "big," and *Komalik*, "mountain crest."¹¹⁷ With the addition of *aw-pap* one could derive "people of the big mountain crest"—perhaps the Estrella Mountains.

Apparently the Spanish used the entire name correctly for the Yuman groups below Gila Bend and the word Opa to distinguish those above the bend. It is interesting to note

115. Garcés in Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer . . .*, pp. 113-114, 123; Anza and Font in Spier, *Yuman Tribes . . .*, pp. 33, 37.

116. I am grateful to Dr. Ruth Underhill for volunteering this information and granting me permission to use it.

117. C. Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, p. 381 (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912).

the Pima use of this word when Font recorded a legend in which he stated one group of Pima in prehistoric times lived down the Gila as far as the Opa.¹¹⁸

Thus, in summary it appears possible that the Cocomaricopa in late prehistoric times were represented by the entire span of Yuman-speaking villages on the Gila, the eastern portion of which became mixed with Piman peoples and traits (possibly around 1400 A.D.) which led to the designation of Opa in early historic times. After the mixture became a blend, the Opa were no longer recognizable as a unit, and by 1776 this designation was dropped. This is the only group that offers any evidence of possible prehistoric contact with the Hohokam-Sinagua of the Gila Basin. However, if such a contact did occur at 1400 A.D., there is nothing to indicate that these Cocomaricopa had any part in causing the abandonment of the Gila Basin around 1400. Since Pima-Maricopa relations were so close in early historic times, it appears more likely that the Cocomaricopa sheltered some of the refugees who left the Gila Basin area about 1400 A.D. Apparently we must look to another group entering the Gila Basin from the east, as legend implies, to explain satisfactorily the abandonment of the large villages of the Salt River Valley and Gila Basin.

Sobaipuri

There is only one possibility of an eastern archaeological entry into the Gila Basin, and that is from the San Pedro or Santa Cruz areas. Several factors, archaeologically and historically, appear to support the probability of such a thrust which in turn would account for Piman mixture with the eastern Cocomaricopa a short distance to the west. We know that archaeological trade existed between the east and the Gila Basin by the presence of Tanque Verde Red-on-brown pottery in the latter region during the Classic period and by the occurrence of two flexed burials in trash-mounds at Casa Grande, this type of interment being common in the Santa Cruz and San Pedro regions. Out of this

118. Fewkes, *Casa Grande* . . . , p. 44.

Classic period contact (1300-1400 A.D.) between the two groups perhaps friction developed causing those in the east to sack Casa Grande as legend indicates. There is the possibility that 1300 A.D. inroads by the Gila-Salt group up the Gila River and down the Santa Cruz (where they introduced and established their Classic period culture) in combination with the post-1300 A.D. Chihuahuan drive from the south-east contributed toward a 1400 A.D. dispersal out of the San Pedro-Santa Cruz area resulting in a western extension into the Gila.

A comparison of archaeological and historical observations tends to support such a possibility, regardless of the cause. De Niza and Coronado noted the San Pedro was heavily populated in 1539 and 1540.¹¹⁹ Kino noted the same in the 1690's and also mentioned concentrations on the Santa Cruz and a relatively sparse population on the Gila.¹²⁰ The early explorers noted "cabin" houses in 1540 and "dome and gallery" houses in the 1690's on the San Pedro,¹²¹ and round houses among the Gila Pima.¹²² Also recorded was bottomland irrigation among the Sobaipuri as well as among the Gila Pima.¹²³ The Sobaipuri continued the practice of the prehistoric groups of their region by disposing of their dead in a flexed position up into recent times.¹²⁴ That there was mixture, to some extent, with those on the Gila as late as the 1850's or 1860's is indicated by this type of burial occurring along with extended inhumations.¹²⁵ In 1864 and

119. Hammond & Rey, *Narratives . . .*, pp. 71, 207, 284.

120. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, pp. 170-174. Mange's figures —2,000 plus on the San Pedro, 6,000 plus on the Santa Cruz, and 730 around Casa Grande. Kino in his report, p. 186, indicates the same relative proportions.

121. Hammond & Rey, *Narratives . . .*, p. 252. Castañeda said they lived by hunting, in *rancherías* without permanent settlements. See also Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, vol. 1, p. 171; Winship, *The Coronado Expedition . . .*, p. 516.

122. Ives, *Sedelmayr's Relación . . .*, p. 107. Sedelmayr says individual huts. See Pfefferkorn, *Description of the Landscape of Sonora . . .*, vol. 2, pp. 116-117, or translation in F. Scantling, *Excavations at the Jackrabbit Ruin, Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona*, p. 16 (University of Arizona Master Thesis, Ms., 1940), or in Treutlein, *Pfefferkorn's Description of Sonora*, p. 192.

123. Fewkes, *Casa Grande . . .*, p. 37; Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir . . .*, pp. 170-172.

124. G. L. Boundey, *Tumacacori National Monument Report in Southwestern Monuments Reports*, p. 42 (National Park Service, January, 1934, mimeographed).

125. C. R. Steen, "Notes on some 19th Century Pima Burials," (*Kiva*, vol. 12, no. 11, pp. 6-10, Arizona State Museum, Tucson).

in 1902 and 1903 observations of flexed burial ceremonies were described on the Gila.¹²⁶

The above circumstances seem to indicate that the presence of round houses, flexed burials, and bottomland irrigation among the Gila Pima may be due to an eastern influx, post-1400 A.D. in time. Aside from the use of round houses, no one of these traits could have been derived from the Yavapai. The lack of rectangular houses, the occasional use of cremation, and the absence of terrace irrigation among the historic Gila Pima, traits which were common to the Hohokam-Sinagua of the same region in prehistoric times, appears to be explained most simply by the above postulated eastern influx dominating the culture of the remnant Hohokam-Sinagua blend. Some caution concerning the proportions of eastern and western Piman traits must be considered here since the Apache drove the Sobaipuri west in 1762. Continuing pressure may have brought about further western moves up to as late as 1800 as Spier indicates.¹²⁷ These additional entries, if they occurred over a period of 40 years, would have heavily influenced the proportion of eastern and western traits in the Gila Basin after 1762. Excavation only can clarify the situation.

126. A. Woodward, "Historical Notes on the Pima," *The Masterkey*, vol. 23, pp. 144-146 (Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, 1949).

127. Spier, *Yuman Tribes* . . . , p. 1.

Notes and Documents

The following documents were originally brought to our* attention by Bartlett Boder, President, St. Joseph (Missouri) Historical Society. In 1950 the Society received them from a descendant of the Laffite family and they are now held in the collection of that Society at St. Joseph.¹

These documents consist of five holographic sheets written in French. In making the translations the greatest difficulty encountered was that of gaining legible views of the script since the sheets were badly worn and faded. The language of Joseph III was, in itself, quite good. When most frontier Frenchmen had little or no knowledge of reading and writing, it is to Joseph's credit to note better than average script, vocabulary, sentence structure, and knowledge of French accents.

Jean Laffite's² exploits as pirate and "hero" of the battle of New Orleans are too well known to be repeated here.³ However, these documents bring to mind one interesting question for the historian. To what extent was pirate booty sold to frontier merchants such as Joseph Robidoux for trading with the Indians?

Messrs. Laffite & Laffite
Campeche Harbor [Galveston]

St Louis. M.[issouri] T.]erritory
Order for cargo passed
this Wednesday, April 15th
1818

twenty Mulatto slaves, as follows:

ten of mature age, having good teeth: males speaking French
ten young adults with teeth [?]: women speaking French
in addition five babies; . . . [some illegible words] three under ten
years old
twenty mirrors: five hundred large hatchets [or axes]

*Frederick W. Bachmann, Professor of Modern Languages, Texas Western College, El Paso, Texas. William S. Wallace, Yakima, Washington.

1. The documents were first referred to in print in the St. Joseph Society's publication *Museum Graphic* (Fall, 1950).

2. Documents and historical usage makes "Laffite" preferable to "Lafitte."

3. A recent and highly readable work on Laffite is Lyle Saxon's *Lafitte the Pirate* (New Orleans, 1951).

two hundred butcher knives: twenty-five kettles
 twenty-five pounds of silk ribbons: one thousand tinder boxes and
 flints
 three hundred cubits [arms lengths] of wool: three thousand flints
 three hundred pounds of bullets: three hundred muskets
 three hundred pounds of powder: five hundred blankets
 five molds for making the bullets: four barrels of wine
 twenty pieces of boat canvas: one hundred pounds of vermilion
 two hundred pounds of tobacco: three hundred shirts
 five hundred pounds of malleable lead sheets
 five hundred pounds of sugar [illegible word]

Joseph Robidoux

\$3535.00

May 19th
 1818

Payment will be received in Alexandria
 Jean Laffite

[illegible
 endorsements]

Instructions

Message sent to Mr. Lacassier
 in Alexandria

The Bouvié Brothers will present ther respects to Captain Cromwell in Lindel. The cargo is to be loaded on the steamer Franklin at Natchez in the month of July.

To be bought directly through the Bouvié Brothers at the port of Galveston.

To notify leaving the port of New Orleans.

To notify directly Alexandria for relaying the cargo to Natchez in the month of June.

The cargo is intended for Fort Bellefontaine [?] for shipment by boat.

Signed

J. Robidoux

Direct to Donaldsville

Approved L. J. Lacassier

Natchez May 9th, 1818

Received [?] in good faith at
 Galveston, May 9th 1818

J. Laffite

Messrs. Jean & Pierre Laffite
 in Campeche
 Gentlemen:

St. Louis, April 18
 1818

After the arrival of Mr. Chouteau we discussed our future prospects.

He is getting me ready to organize an expedition into northwestern Missouri.

This will be a hard fight, much material and many slaves will be needed for this task. I cannot employ the indians in any of this work

as I have trained and organized them [solely?] in the hunting and trading of furs. . . . I am sure that you understand and appreciate my situation. I should be afraid to use them for any kind of arduous task.

You know that my commercial enterprize might fail completely.

We Frenchmen differ a great deal from the Spaniards and English in our relationships with the Indian tribes of the North West. You know how certain Indian tribes have degenerated [end of sheet 1, Document III] a few years ago in consequence of very strong whiskey given them by the English and there results from this matter a difficult problem to make them loyal once more and to make them regain confidence. You have heard about the great misfortune that happened to me with them at Fort Dearborn.⁴ We French have only a little wine to give the Indians in small quantities. Our Catholic missionaries are very active in teaching them what is good, a fact which is of great help to us in the risks we run in our trading with the tribes of the North West.

These latter [tribes] are peaceful and loyal; they are quite different from the Southern tribes. The Indian tribes of the North West do not attach an excessive importance to anything; they only insist on what they consider necessary.

I appreciate very much what you have done for my father and for many others in Saint Louis [end of sheet 2, Document III].

We attach a great importance here to slaves because you sent some that speak French. Mr. Carraby [?] told me that you were very busy and hard to reach. I am giving this letter to Mr. Bauvis[?], as well as an order for merchandise with instructions to be sure that you will receive them safely and without delay.

Your humble servant
Joseph Robidoux

NEW MEXICO

*[Correspondence of the Evening Post.]

Physical Character of the Country—Discovery of the supposed Crater of an extinct Volcano in the Valley of the Rio Grande—Hot Springs at Los [Las] Vegas and Socono [Socorro]—Manufacture of Wine and "Aguardiente."

SOCONO [Socorro] NEW MEXICO, October 18, 1855.

All travellers through this country have not failed to observe the igneous character of its rock formations; but so far as we know, no report has been made of any discovery, of what has been considered

4. Joseph III here refers to his father's trading business at Fort Dearborn which Joseph III operated for his father until the Indians destroyed the fort.

* Roland F. Dickey, Publications Editor, New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, Socorro, New Mexico, submitted this item for publication. He suggests that the newspaper is the *New York Evening Post*.

extinct volcanoes. Volcanic action is everywhere apparent; but where have been the volcanoes? To discover these, would be a matter of no small interest.

We are not certain, Mr. Editor, that this discovery has not been made within the last few weeks, by the Rev. D. D. Lore. He is under the impression that he has discovered the *crater* of an extinct volcano. The state of the case, as related by himself, is thus:

A few weeks since he was travelling on an Indian trail, with a Mexican guide, from an Indian pueblo to Los Lunes [Los Lunas]; a Mexican village, in the valley of the Rio Grande. When they ascended the dividing ridge between the Rio Puerco and the Rio Grande, the guide pointed out a mountain, and informed the Rev. Mr. Lore, that there was a very deep hole in the top of it. From the appearance of the country, covered for miles with volcanic scoria, it occurred to the gentleman that in all probability there was the point from whence it once issued.

He had not time to examine the mountain then; but observing the locality, and taking its bearings in reference to the point of his destination, he determined at another time to visit it, and make an examination. This he did in about a week afterward.

He went out from Los Lunes [Lunas] about eight miles, due west, and discovered the mountain he sought. It is a regular conical-shaped mountain, rising up abruptly and isolated, on the dividing highland between the two rivers before mentioned. From the base to the top, which shows in the distance to be flat, is about one hundred and fifty feet, more or less. The sides of the mountain, when reached, were found to be one mass of loose cinders; the whole appearing like a mountain of refuse from some mammoth furnace, which had been accumulating for ages. The ascent was sufficiently regular and gradual, to lead a horse to the top. When it was gained, there was found, sure enough, according to the description of the Mexican guide, a deep hole. The inverted hollow cone was there, occupying the whole size of the mountain top; the outer edge of which, being nothing but the narrow rim of the great bowl, or basin.

The measurement of this hollow cone by steps was, at bottom, 120 feet in diameter, and across the top, the diameter is about 222 feet. The depth now, after having been filling up for centuries, is about 25 feet. Thus we have a magnificent bowl, 666 feet in circumference at the top, and 360 feet at the bottom, and some 25 feet deep. It is a most symmetrical shape—almost a perfect circle, and the sides sloping at about the same angle all around to the bottom, which is level, with a few cactus and some coarse grass growing upon it—the material with which it is filled up, being so porous and loose, that the bottom is perfectly free from water, and dry.

The run, or edge of this cavity, is one solid mass of what has been melted rock; cooled in all blistered and twisted possible convolutions and conditions, apparently arrested and fixed, in the very act of over-

flowing. According to the account of the narrator, there could not be more decided evidence of volcanic action and overflow, than is apparent on this mountain top. And, indeed, adown its sides, and all over the plains for miles, the rocks are burned black, porous as a honey-comb, and the scoria yet lies uncovered, though the dust of ages have been gathering upon it. The Rev. gentleman is decidedly of the opinion that it is the *crater of an extinct volcano*. He brought away with him several specimens of the lava, as pure, we think, as ever issued from Etna or Vesuvius. One specimen is a piece of quartz, having had one end melted in the furnace, while the other end is in its natural state. This might be called a remarkable escape.

The mountain, as before observed, lies west of the village of Los Lunes, about eight miles, and perhaps ten from the Rio Grande del Norte. It is about ten miles south of the thirty-fifth parallel of lat., and is connected with the great mountain chain on the west bank of the Rio Grande.

If this be the crater of an extinct volcano, it is the first, so far as we know, that has been discovered, not only in this territory, but any where within the boundary of the United States. And if it be not a crater, how shall we account for so singular a formation in a mountain top? and accompanied also with such decided evidences of volcanic eruption? Our own opinion is, that this is only one of many volcanoes, which were once active throughout this whole country. And, we doubt not, that similar discoveries of craters on the mountain tops, will be made in various parts of this territory.

There are also in New Mexico a large number of warm and hot springs. These, for aught we know, may have some connection with, and give evidence of, volcanic fires. There are also several places where the surface of the earth is several degrees warmer than elsewhere; so warm, that when snow falls, it is immediately melted.

Near "Los [Las] Vegas," the first Mexican village on the road from the United States, there are several *hot springs*. These are resorted to by officers of the army and others, for bathing, being supposed to possess medicinal qualities.

There is also a warm spring at Socono, a town one hundred and fifty miles below Santa Fé, in the valley of the Rio Grande. This we have visited, and bathed in its refreshing waters. They are not hot, just warm enough to be pleasant. This spring is situated at the foot of the mountain range, bordering on the west side of the valley of the river, and is about three miles distant from it, and about two from the village. The main body of the water gushes out of a crevice in the rock, about four feet from the ground. There are several other smaller streams, all within a few yards, issuing out of the ground at the base of the rock, the waters of which are warmer; in consequence, we suppose, of being less exposed to the atmosphere. Here are the finest natural advantages for a bathing establishment we have ever seen. A showerbath could be easily constructed under the stream issuing from

the rock—and a magnificent basin is formed by the surrounding rising grounds, needing only a short dam across the outlet of the waters. If this country ever becomes settled by the Americans, we doubt not that such an appropriation will be made of its waters.

This spring is perpetual and abundant. It is one of the great advantages of this town—such as no other town in this valley, perhaps, possesses—the other villages are all dependent for water upon the river, which is generally thick with mud, and in low stages difficult to obtain. But this spring supplies the inhabitants of Socono, with water always fresh and pure—pure indeed as they see proper to have it; in this matter they are not very particular. Above the town they bathe in it, wash their clothes in it, and water their animals in it; lead it through the yards in which their cattle and goats are penned, and afterwards drink it. The Mexicans always take it for granted that water is clean. And this spring-water, notwithstanding the above recapitulation, is certainly the best and cleanest we have found any town blest with in New Mexico.

Besides supplying all domestic purposes, it is sufficient to water all their gardens and vineyards, on the west side of the town, being led into them by “acequias,” or small canals. On the main stream leading to the town, are several mills turned by it for grinding flour.

The Mexican mill is a very primitive construction. A horizontal wheel is attached to a shaft, which extends into a little building above it, and turns one pair of small stones, which grind about *one bushel in twenty-four hours!* The wheel is placed below the level of the stream, which through a trough is directed against it, producing the motion. The wheel is about as large as a good-sized wash-tub.

Socono is the county seat of a county by the same name, containing about 1,200 inhabitants. It has no business. The inhabitants depend upon what corn they can raise, and the produce of their vineyards. The grapes grown here are most luscious. They are cultivated after the French and Italian mode, kept trimmed closely to the ground, not growing more than two or three feet high, supporting themselves by their own stock, when a few years old.

A considerable quantity of wine is manufactured in the valley. That of “El Paso,” is quite celebrated; but what for we cannot divine; for as far as we can learn the best judges cannot distinguish the grape juice, from a manufactured article. Wine, however, does not satisfy the drinking propensity, and hence much of the grape juice is manufactured into “aquadiente,” which is brandy made from the grape. The country furnishes no evidence of the advantages of the grape culture, either on the morals or temporal prosperity of the community. Q.B.S.M.

Book Reviews

The Life of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, 1823-1889. A study of Influence and Obscurity. Frank Averill Knapp. The Institute of Latin-American Studies, University of Texas, No. XII. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1951. Pp. 292.

For the first time a careful, detailed and thoroughly documented study of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada is presented. Mr. Knapp feels that the neglect of this political figure is due to the overshadowing importance and acclaim given to Benito Juárez on the one hand and Porfirio Díaz on the other. So, Mexico's President, following the untimely death of Juárez (1872), has been obscured by his illustrious predecessor and the short period of Lerdo's peaceful presidency negated by his dictator successor.

Covering the early life of Sebastián Lerdo briefly the work is devoted largely to the twenty some years of his political career. From his work as an educator, he was rector of the National College of San Ildefonso, 1852-1863, he became more and more concerned with political events. He was *fiscal* of the Supreme Court (1855), and alternate magistrate; in the Cabinet of Ignacio Comonfort as Minister of Foreign Relations (1857); a deputy in Congress (1861-1863); intimate of Juárez and his Minister of Justice; then later Minister of Relations and Government which made him Chief of the Cabinet. He shared President Juárez' wanderings during the days of Maximilian, and returned with him in triumph after the fall of the French, became *ad interim* president of Mexico in 1872 and was elected to serve as the chief executive, 1872-1876.

Throughout his political life, Sebastián Lerdo was a liberal working for the realization of constitutional government. He developed his own party which fell before the popular militarist, Porfirio Díaz. The last years of his life were spent in exile in the United States.

This complicated career is handled with understanding and sometimes great clarity of writing. However, the author

resorts too frequently to rhetorical questions. Some colloquial expressions and confused and awkward writing also obscure the clear thread of development.

Two matters merit special attention, first, the excellent chart or time table of the movements of Juárez and his staff during the French occupation which has never been done before; second, the separation of the careers of Sebastián and Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, his brother. Writers have frequently confused the two men both of whom served Mexico during the Juárez period. The chapter on the nomadic government of Juárez could be cut. It is confused by detail. The diplomatic and, perhaps, other aspects of the period could have been organized into another section and thus clarify the story.

One regrets Mr. Knapp's depreciating of his materials. He has examined a number of sources as shown in his notes and bibliography, has sifted out much pertinent information and woven together a most welcome study on this prominent figure of Mexico's nineteenth century history. It is a pioneer project and, despite the faults, a distinctive addition to the literature of this period.

University of New Mexico

DOROTHY WOODWARD

Reports of the Awatovi Expedition, Barbara Lawrence. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Report No. 4. Part I: Mammals found at the Awatovi site. Part II: Post-cranial skeletal characters of deer, pronghorn, and sheep-goat with notes on Bos and Bison. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, XXXV, No. 3, vii+43. 20 figs. Harvard University, 1951.

This fourth report of the Awatovi Expedition is in two parts, each of which is further subdivided into two. Part one is brief. It contains a discussion of the mammal remains found in the ruins on Antelope Mesa in the Hopi country of northeastern Arizona and a discussion of the canid remains from the southwest in general. Nineteen feral and

seven domestic species were identified from the ruins. Some of these were identified to subspecies. One wonders about the advisability of attempting to identify such fragmentary material to subspecies.

Part two, the main portion of the report, is devoted to "some explicit practical suggestions and diagrams by the aid of which, and a skeleton of each of the animals involved, the archaeologist can identify the great bulk of the bones he finds." This is part of a laudable attempt to relieve the professional mammalogist of some of the burden of routine identification thrust upon him by archaeologists, ecologists, and others. Since the bones of most species, such as the porcupine and jackrabbit that are encountered by the archaeologist, are easy to identify by comparison with known materials, prime attention is given to the more difficult groups. Two such groups were studied. The first includes the deer, the pronghorn, the sheep, and the goat. The last two are treated as one because their bones, other than the skulls, are largely indistinguishable. The second group is composed of the bison and the cow. Not all of the post-cranial skeleton is treated. In general those portions, such as ribs, the shafts of the long bones, and the smaller carpals and tarsals, that are difficult for the non-specialist to identify, are omitted.

In spite of the obvious diversity of the living individuals, the differences in the post-cranial skeletons are not trenchant. The characters suggested for use are those found most significant in a comparative study of from three to twelve skeletons of each type. The characters are well chosen, but for the most part are expressed in relative terms as larger, deeper, etc. Since the differences are largely those of degree rather than of kind, the value of the work would have been enhanced by the inclusion of actual and proportional measurements, even though the ranges of these may meet or overlap, and the series are understandably small.

University of New Mexico

WILLIAM J. KOSTER

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New Mexico Historical Review



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

October, 1952

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OCTOBER, 1952

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

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Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVII

OCTOBER, 1952

No. 4

THE HISTORIC INDIAN PUEBLOS OF LA JUNTA DE LOS RIOS

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I. Introduction

THERE are many references in the Spanish documents of the early historic period to the Indian pueblos of the region of La Junta de los Ríos, the junction of the Río Grande and the Río Conchos of Chihuahua. The Spanish accounts provide an excellent picture of the Indian culture of the region and enable identification of the ruins of many of the actual villages described. These sites were located during the course of archaeological field work at La Junta in the period 1936-1939, and were rechecked in connection with archaeological reconnaissance along the Río Grande and the Río Conchos in the summers of 1948, 1949 and 1951.¹ Intensive excavations were made in two of the historic pueblo sites by Donald J. Lehmer and the writer in 1938-1939.²

1. The archaeological reconnaissance of the summer of 1948 covered the Río Grande Valley from the vicinity of Redford, below La Junta, to Fabens, near El Paso. The field work of the summer of 1949 included a reconnaissance of the valley of the Río Conchos from its mouth to the junction of the Río Florido, as well as the Mexican side of the Río Grande immediately above and below La Junta. Both of these research projects were made possible by research grants of the Institute of Latin American Studies of The University of Texas. In 1951 an archaeological reconnaissance was made of the difficult mountainous stretch of the Río Conchos between Julimes and Falomir, where the Orient Railway crosses the river. This latter work was financed by a grant-in-aid from the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was made possible by a research leave of absence granted by the Southern Illinois University. The investigations of 1949 and 1951 could not have been made without the excellent cooperation of Dr. Eduardo Noguera and the Government of Mexico.

[In order to make it easier for the reader to locate an *op. cit.*, I have inserted the footnote number where a reference is first cited by the author. Ed.]

2. Archaeological work in the sites includes a stratigraphic test made in the midden of Shafter 7:1 in 1936, together with other tests and a pit house excavation in the

In the present paper an attempt is made to summarize the documentary data relative to the location and characteristics of the various pueblos and apply this to the geographical and archaeological features of the La Junta region. This results in the identification of most of the La Junta pueblos, although the putative sites of some of those located on the Río Conchos have not been checked in the field.³

A summary of the archaeological and documentary history of the pueblos identified is likewise included.

II. Geography of the La Junta Region

The name of "La Junta" has long been used for the region surrounding the junction of the Río Grande and the Río

same site in 1937 by the writer and full scale excavations in 1938-1939 by Donald J. Lehmer and the writer at Shafter 7:1 and Shafter 7:3. The 1936 excavations were made under the sponsorship of Sul Ross State College of Alpine, Texas, and were financed in part by grants-in-aid from H. S. Gladwin and E. B. Sayles. The 1938-1939 excavations represented the work of the First La Junta Expedition, a cooperative project of the School of American Research, the Sul Ross State College and the Works Progress Administration. The final report on these excavations is now nearing completion, thanks to research funds generously provided by the School of American Research. During the reconnaissance of 1948 a pit house was excavated in one of the large La Junta sites near Redford, and tests were made in others. Farther up the Río Grande, another pit house was excavated. In the summer of 1949 the Archaeological Field School of The University of Texas excavated a pit house and several cache pits in the Redford site and made tests in several other near-by La Junta sites. During the Río Conchos reconnaissance of the latter part of the same summer, another pit house was excavated in a La Junta site on the Río Conchos a few miles above Ojinaga. Preliminary papers on archaeology and ethnohistory of La Junta already published include: "An Archaeological Survey of Texas," *Medallion Papers*, No. XVII, Globe, 1935 (pp. 79-84, Plate XXII, Map E, Tables 7, 9, 13), and "An Archaeological Survey of Chihuahua, Mexico," *Medallion Papers*, No. XXII, Globe, 1936 (p. 84, Table I, and p. 107, Map), by E. B. Sayles; "The Route of Antonio de Espejo . . . Its Relation to West Texas Archaeology," *West Texas Historical and Scientific Society Publications*, No. 7, Alpine, 1937; "Archaeological Notes On The Excavation of a Pit House Near Presidio, Texas," *El Palacio*, Vol. XLVI, 10, Santa Fe, 1939; "Recent Field Work in Texas: (1) Presidio," *Texas Archaeological News*, No. 2, pp. 1-4, Austin, 1940, and "Archaeological Notes On Two Excavated House Structures in Western Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society*, Vol. 20, pp. 89-114, 1949, by J. Charles Kelley; "The Association of Archaeological Materials With Geological Deposits in the Big Bend Region of Texas," *West Texas Historical and Scientific Society Publications*, No. 10, pp. 73-81, Alpine, 1940, by J. Charles Kelley, T. N. Campbell, and Donald J. Lehmer. The earlier papers by Sayles were the inspiration for later work by the writer.

3. When this article was first written in 1948, the locations of Guadalupe and Cristóbal pueblos were not those given in the present paper. The error in the original interpretations resulted from misinterpretation of the records of one of the *entradas*. At that time, the author did not have access to the records of the Ydoiaga *entrada* of 1747. When these records were called to his attention, it was possible to correct the error in identification previously made. Thanks are expressed to Mr. John Manly Daniels for calling the Ydoiaga records to the author's attention. John Manly Daniels, *La Junta de los Ríos and the Despoblado, 1680-1760*, Masters Thesis, The University of Texas, 1948.

Conchos near Presidio, Texas, and Ojinaga, Chihuahua. Roughly, the area in question is included in the triangle formed by Cuchillo Parado, some 30 miles up the Río Conchos on the west; Ruidosa, about 35 miles up the Río Grande; and Redford, some 18 miles down the Río Grande (Fig. II). The principal Indian pueblos of La Junta were all located within a radius of six leagues, or some 16 miles, of the actual junction of the stream.

Both rivers meander through alluvial flood plains averaging about a mile in width. Both streams change their courses from time to time in their winding through this sandy lowland. The Río Grande especially meanders in broad, twisting loops which are often abandoned to form sloughs and marshes (Fig. II). The low-lying flood plain was thus naturally irrigated and ideal for farming by primitive methods. Uncleared areas at present are covered with a thick growth of willows, cane, mesquite thickets and groves of cottonwood.

Adjoining the flood plain and rising some 20 feet above it is a low gravel terrace varying in width, where present, from a few yards to over a mile. The more or less level surface of this terrace is badly dissected locally by erosion. Head-cutting gullies in places have reduced its periphery to a jagged series of isolated promontories (Fig. III). The vegetation is typically mesquite, greasewood, and grasses with occasional stands of yucca and cacti. The modern town of Presidio, Texas (elevation: 2594 feet), occupies this terrace, and it was likewise the site of some of the historic Indian pueblos.

The main valley of the joined rivers is bounded for the most part by the steep gravel talus slopes of the high gravel terrace which rises abruptly some 60 feet from the level of the low terrace (Fig. I). The plane "desert pavement" surface of this high terrace rises in a long slant toward the distant mountains, here, with exceptions, some miles away from the valley itself. Actually, several terraces are represented, rising in steps toward the mountains and changing imperceptibly from true alluvial terraces to mountain pediments. A scattered growth of mesquite, greasewood, yucca, cacti and some grass is the typical vegetation of the high terraces. Near the river valleys tributary streams have cut

narrow valleys, floored with the low gravel terrace, for yards or miles into the high terrace, leaving between them long narrow mesa tongues, often isolated from the main terrace mass or attached to it only by narrow saddles. In places these mesa tongues extend directly to the edge of the flood plain or within yards of it. Such high flat-topped gravel mesas immediately adjoining the flood plain, or even the river, were the preferred location for the historic pueblos of the La Junta region.⁴

Two such long narrow mesas parallel the lower course of the Río Conchos almost to its junction with the Río Grande. On the southern mesa lies the modern Mexican town of Ojinaga, Chihuahua. Directly across the Río Grande from the junction a third such long mesa tongue extends almost to the edge of an old channel of the Río Grande (Fig I).

About three miles south of the junction rises the northern crest of the jagged ridge of Sierra de la Cruz (elevation: approximately 4000 feet) which parallels the Río Grande for several miles below La Junta on the southwest. The rugged foothills of this range extend to the edge of the lowland, producing a badlands terrain unsuitable for village locations. Northeast of La Junta numerous small ranges or isolated hills reaching an elevation of 4600 feet parallel the Río Grande and encroach upon the river itself. Some 18 miles south of the river junction and paralleling the Río Grande for over 35 miles, the abrupt cliffs of the Cuchillo Parado ridges, the Sierra Grande (elevation: 5250 feet), formed a definitive topographic boundary to the La Junta area and its Indian villages. Twenty miles north of the river junction on

4. Ydoiaga in 1747 asked the natives of San Cristóbal pueblo why they did not move their pueblo to the southern side of the river where it could be more effectively cared for by the priests. The Indians replied that this was impossible, since there was no suitable pueblo location on that bank in the vicinity. Their pueblos must be located on a hill close to the river, they said, so that they might have the materials for building their houses [timber, brush, adobe, water] and the necessities for their households close at hand and yet not exposed to destruction by the annual floods. They said that Cristóbal [which was located on the low terrace] was never flooded, even though it was situated directly on the river bank. ("Quaderno que comienza con la Carta Orden del Exmo. Señor Virrey, Governador y Capitán General de estos Reynos, de resulta de mi Consulta y Diligencias. . . . en La Junta de los Ríos del Norte y Conchos, y sus Contornos" . . . por el Capⁿ Comandante y Comisario dⁿ Joseph de Ydoiaga. *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico*, 89-2-3; Dunn Transcripts, 1746-1747, Archives Collection, The University of Texas, pp. 44/27-52/32. cf. p. 34/252-253).

the Texas side of the Río Grande, the Chinati Mountains rise to an elevation of 7800 feet.

The course of the Río Conchos from the modern town of Cuchillo Parado to La Junta has a direct bearing on the route followed by the various Spanish *entradas* and on the location of several of the historic towns. Southwest of the Sierra Grande the Río Conchos trends almost due northeast. Near the town of Cuchillo Parado it turns abruptly to the north for nine miles paralleling the ridge, then due east for four miles, then back again five miles south, completing a circuit of the northwest end of the Sierra Grande ridge. The Spaniards invariably cut across this loop of the Río Conchos over the ridge from Cuchillo Parado, a distance of some ten miles and involving several steep climbs of 1000 feet or more, reaching the river somewhere above modern Santa Teresa.⁵

At the end of the southward swing the Conchos again turns east by north for some 12 miles to the vicinity of Santa Teresa, and thence east by south roughly paralleling the Río Grande for nine miles, with a final swing through a low but rugged escarpment five miles northeast to the junction. Between San Juan on the Río Conchos and Porvenir on the Río Grande, the distance between the two rivers is only seven miles, and a climb of less than 500 feet intervenes (Fig. I). The Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions both crossed to the Río Grande at this point, and then followed down that river to La Junta.⁶

5. The Cuchillo Parado ridges, called the Sierra Grande, are parallel escarpments of incredible roughness. From the town of modern Cuchillo Parado the old short-cut foot and horse trail across the ridges is easily seen. This trail is still in use and is a much shorter route from Cuchillo Parado to the towns of the lower Conchos than the river trail. The people of Cuchillo Parado said that four hours of hard travel on horseback over this trail would bring one within sight of Mesquite pueblo on the lower Río Conchos.

In Fig. I. ((frontispiece), some of the routes followed are well known and the documentary evidence enables certain identification of landmarks, trails, etc. In other instances only enough information is available to suggest the general route. In such instances it is assumed that the expedition followed the well traveled route throughout. Return trips are shown separately only where a different route was followed, and no attempt is made to show on the map the direction of travel. The region has a much more broken physiography than is indicated by this map but it is impossible to show details of terrain and at the same time indicate the routes of the *entradas*. Accordingly a compromise depiction has been adopted.

6. Today a country road, easily traveled by automobile, follows this short-cut from Santa Teresa on the Río Conchos to the vicinity of Porvenir on the Río Grande. Only gentle slopes and ravines separate the two river valleys at this point. But be-

At La Junta the Río Conchos is by far the larger river. Above La Junta the Río Grande is often dry and the average annual run-off is very low. Thus, in the period of 1900-1913, prior to the establishment of Elephant Butte Reservoir above El Paso, the gauging station on the Río Grande just above the mouth of the Río Conchos showed an average annual run-off of 645,246 acre feet. In the same period the station just below the mouth of the Río Conchos showed an annual run-off for the period of 2,045,769 acre feet, over three times the run-off above the junction. Furthermore, no measurable run-off at all was recorded for 25 months distributed through eight years of the 13 year period at the station above the Río Conchos, while no months at all without run-off were recorded below the junction!⁷ Two other streams enter the Río Grande from the Texas side in the La Junta area; Cíbola Creek, an ephemeral stream directly below the junction, and Álamo Creek, a permanent but small stream whose mouth lies about eight miles below the mouth of the Conchos. Neither of these streams appreciably affect the run-off of the joined streams. Hence, the flow of the Río Conchos is vital to irrigated farming in the area. Significantly, all the major La Junta pueblos of the historic period were located either on the Río Conchos or on the Río Grande at and below the junction.

Thorntwaite classified the climate of the La Junta region as EB'd (Arid, Mesothermal, Precipitation Deficient)⁸ and Russell as BWhw (Hot Desert, Dry Winters) pointing out that the region although included in his Dry Climates has a frequency of 10 desert years out of every 20 years.⁹ The region therefore cannot support agriculture except through irrigation, and with the exception of a few *temporales* farmed in years of good local rainfall all the large

tween this point on the Conchos and La Junta the trail which followed the river valley crosses a series of precipitous ridges. Hence, the short-cut route to the Río Grande and down it to La Junta involved much easier traveling, although the distance was greater.

7. Based on yearly and monthly run-off figures given in *Water Resources of the Río Grande Basin, 1889-1913*, by Robert Follansbee and H. S. Dean, United States Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 358, Washington, 1915.

8. C. Warren Thorntwaite, "The Climates of North America According to a New Classification," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. XXI, 633-655 (1931).

9. Richard Joel Russell, "Dry Climates of the United States," *University of California Publication in Geography*, Vol. 5, Nos. 1 and 5, Berkeley, 1932.

villages have been located near the river, and in all probability on the Río Conchos or the joined streams.

III. *The Spanish Entradas*

Although there exist many documentary references to the La Junta Pueblos and their culture, those which contribute most to our general picture of the number, location, size, people and culture of these pueblos include the sources for the *entradas* of Rodríguez-Chamuscado (1581-1582), Espejo (1582-1583), Mendoza-López (1683-1684), Tránsito Retis (1714-1715), Ydoiaga, Rábago y Terán, and Vidaurre (1747-1748), and Rubín de Celis (1750-1751). The *entrada* of Hugo O'Connor in 1773 and the reports of Nicolas de Lafora in 1765 and Tamerón y Romerón in 1771 also provide usable data. Cabeza de Vaca may have visited La Junta in 1535, but this is by no means certain,¹⁰ and in any case he mentions no specific pueblos.

The Rodríguez-Chamuscado Entrada (1581-1582) :

Principal documentary sources for this *entrada* are the Gallegos Relation,¹¹ the Declaration of Bustamante and of Barrado, the Narrative of Escalante and Barrado,¹² and Obregón's Chronicle.¹³

For the La Junta region, the Gallegos Relation is by far the best account. The Obregón account of the expedition is a secondary source and appears quite faulty. The other accounts are short and contain few or no references to La Junta.

10. Authorities have generally accepted La Junta as one of the established points on the Núñez route. However, Núñez himself comments on the practice of stone-boiling and the lack of pottery at this location. *The Journal of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, edited by Fanny Bandelier, p. 154, New York, 1905. Archaeological excavations at La Junta apparently indicate the use of pottery there from about 1200 A. D. to the present. This either rules out the customary identification or else is a commentary on the relative inaccuracy of the Núñez account.

11. Relation of the Expedition and Events Accomplished by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado . . . by Hernán Gallegos. . . . Translated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, "The Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico, 1581-1582," *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 239-268, (1927) ; 334-362. Reprint in Historical Society of New Mexico, *Publications in History*, Vol. IV, 1927.

12. These three minor sources were translated by H. E. Bolton, "The Rodríguez Expedition, 1581" in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, pp. 137-160, New York, 1916.

13. *Obregón's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America*. Translated by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Los Angeles, 1928.

The Rodríguez party in 1581 marched from Santa Bàrbara down the Río Florido to the Río Conchos and down the latter stream to the cut-off to the Río Grande near San Juan, en route crossing the Sierra Grande. They then followed the Río Grande to La Junta, after which they returned up the Río Grande and continued on into New Mexico, returning by the same route in 1582. The documents supply no information as to individual towns or their locations, although all of the principal La Junta pueblos apparently were visited. The Gallegos Relation, however, gives excellent descriptions of the people and their culture. One pueblo for example is described as

. . . a permanent settlement [whose inhabitants stood on the house tops to greet the Spaniards]. . . . These houses resemble those of the Mexicans, except that they are made of paling. They build them square. They put up the bases and upon these they place timbers, the thickness of a man's thigh. Then they add the pales, and plaster them with mud. Close to them they have their granaries built of willow, after the fashion of the Mexicans. . . . This pueblo had eight large square houses inhabited by many people, over three hundred persons in number.¹⁴

Rancherías of the Conchos Indians were found along the Río Conchos until the party reached the Cuchillo Parado region. Here they found the Cabris Indians, different from both the Conchos and the Patarabueyes. Leaving here they came to the Sierra Grande:

Marching down the same river we entered and crossed many very dense ridges that were traversed only with great difficulty by our beasts of burden. It became necessary to lift up some of them, because some rolled down and others became exhausted and collapsed. This resulted from our not knowing the way. . . . When we had descended the said mountain we came to the river, which was reached only after crossing the ridge. The sierra must be about a league across, but the difficult part is short, only about an harquebus shot across. This includes climbing to the summit and descending.¹⁵

The first La Junta Indians, called Amotomancos, were encountered shortly after the party descended to the Río Conchos from the Cuchillo Parado pass. Gallegos gives no figures as to the number of pueblos nor the size of the popu-

14. Gallegos, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 11], pp. 256-257.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

lation, but according to Obregón the expedition found more than 2000 Indians living along the Río Grande in the vicinity of La Junta.¹⁶ The Río Grande valley was named the "Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción."¹⁷

The Espejo Entrada, 1582-1583:

The Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a member of the *entrada*,¹⁸ is the most important source of information regarding this expedition. Espejo's own account¹⁹ is brief and contains some obvious errors as does the second-hand account of Obregón to which reference has already been made.

The Espejo expedition departed from San Bartolomé, near Santa Bárbara, traveled to the Río Conchos, thence down the Conchos, apparently crossing the cut-off to the Río Grande, back down the Río Grande to the La Junta pueblos, and thence up the same river to New Mexico. On the return trip from New Mexico the party followed the Pecos river to the vicinity of Toyah Creek, and from there crossed to the Río Grande near Candelaria, thence down the river to La Junta and up the Río Conchos, retracing the journey of the previous year.

About 25 leagues down the Río Conchos trail from the mouth of the Río San Pedro they left the last of the Conchos Indian *rancherías*, which they had found scattered all along this section of the river, and entered the land of the Passaguates Indians, apparently in the vicinity of Cuchillo Parado.

Four leagues beyond they came to the first La Junta pueblo, that of the Otomoacos, on the Río Conchos, apparently at the lower end of the cut-off trail from Cuchillo Parado and in the vicinity of modern Santa Teresa. The second La Junta pueblo visited was that of the Otomoacos (?) at the pools of San Bernardino on the Río Grande five leagues above La Junta, apparently on the Chihuahua side at the end of the cut-off trail from the Río Conchos. The third pueblo

16. *Obregón's History . . .*, *op. cit.* [note 13], p. 280.

17. Gallegos, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 11], p. 256.

18. *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583*, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party. Translated and edited by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Los Angeles, 1929 (Quivira Society Publications, Vol. 1).

19. "Account of the journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, 1583" by Antonio Espejo, in Bolton, *op. cit.* [note 12], pp. 161-195.

the party described was located at the junction of the rivers, on the Chihuahua side and on the northwest side of the Río Conchos. This was an Abriaches pueblo named Santo Tomás. The fourth pueblo seen, called San Juan Evangelista, was located one-half league from Santo Tomás across the Río Grande on a high ridge on the Texas side. Houses at the foot of the mesa formed a sort of suburb for this town. The fifth pueblo visited, named Santiago, was located down stream from San Juan Evangelista, apparently on the Texas side of the rivers, and was the largest pueblo discovered. In addition to the pueblos enumerated, Luxán notes that there were other cities and *rancherías* of the Patarabueyes both above and below the junction,²⁰ and Espejo estimated that there were 10,000 Indians in the La Junta region.²¹

The Mendoza-López Entrada (1683-1684) :

A mission had been established at El Paso as early as 1659 and the Spanish settlement there was greatly enlarged in 1680 by refugees from the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico. In 1683 a delegation of Indians from La Junta visited El Paso and requested that missionaries be sent to their homeland and to the tribes of central Texas. In response to this appeal the Mendoza-López expedition followed the Río Grande to La Junta and established missions there. The expedition then pushed on eastward into central Texas, leaving a *padre* at La Junta to continue the missionary work. On the return trip the expedition followed the Río Conchos into what is now Chihuahua as far as the pueblo of Julimes, and then continued overland to El Paso. Although numerous documents dealing with the *entrada* are known to scholars, they add very little information to our knowledge of the La Junta missions.

The most detailed of the reports, the *Itinerario* of Mendoza,²² merely notes that at La Junta, named "La Nabadidad en las Cruces," there were *rancherías* of Julimes Indians on both sides of the Río Grande, that the *rancherías* all had

20. Luxán, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 18], p. 63.

21. Espejo, in Bolton, *op. cit.* [note 12], p. 172. This population estimate is certainly excessive.

22. Translated by Bolton as the "Itinerary of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, 1684" in Bolton, *op. cit.* [note 12], pp. 320-343.

crosses, and that the Indians were "versed in the Mexican language," and that they all cultivated maize and wheat.²³

In another of these documents, the "Representación" made by Fray Nicolás López to the Márques of La Laguna and the Count of Paredes in April, 1685,²⁴ there are additional data. López states that in the first La Junta pueblo visited on the Río Grande he found a grass church already constructed. In another pueblo six leagues further down the river he found a larger and better built church, also a house for the priests. Seven other Indian nations later built churches. Another notation mentions that there was only one priest for six pueblos. There were many Christian Indians; all of them were settled peoples who cultivated corn, wheat, beans, calabashes, watermelons, cantaloupes and tobacco. In the "Letter of Fray Nicolás López to the Viceroy" in 1686,²⁵ López further notes that the missionaries found two huts already built and then built four others, presumably one in each of the six pueblos, and that nine nations were administered,²⁶ and over 500 Indians baptized.

From the "Certificaciones" of Mendoza²⁷ supplementary data are obtainable. Mendoza noted that seven nations and more than 500 Indians were represented at La Junta and that six churches of grass and wood had been completed, presumably one in each pueblo. On the return trip up the Río Conchos, Mendoza states that they traveled eight leagues more or less from the junction of the rivers to a place of many people which they named Santa Catalina. The second day they continued up the river and apparently crossed the

23. *Ibid*, p. 325.

24. Quoted in *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*. Translated by C. W. Hackett, Vol. II, pp. 349-352, Austin, 1934.

25. Translated in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Viscaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, edited by C. W. Hackett, Vol. III, pp. 360-363, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., 1937.

26. Included in the "nations" listed in all probability were the Jumano and the Cibolo, bison nomads who traded with the La Junta Indians and were probably resident there during the winter season. (*Jumano and Patarabueye; Relations at La Junta de los Ríos* by J. Charles Kelley. Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University, 1948).

27. "Certificaciones," made at La Junta while *en route* from the Jumanos, May and June. "Autos Sobre los Socorros. . . ." *Archivo General y Público de Mexico, Provincias Internas*, Tomo 37, Expediente 4, 1684.

Sierra Grande back to the upper Conchos, thence up stream to Julimes and overland to El Paso. Eight leagues from Santa Catalina and across the Sierra Grande, apparently at Cuchillo Parado, they noted an Indian *ranchería* which they called Santa Polonia. Beyond this, and ending at a distance of eleven leagues, they found a series of almost continuous *rancherías* along the river, apparently in the San Pedro-Vegas region, which they named Santa Teresa.

The Trasvina Retis Entrada (1715) :

In the spring of 1715, Don Juan Antonio de Trasvina Retis accompanied by 30 soldiers and a party of Indians from the pueblos of San Antonio de Julimes, San Pablo, Santa Cruz, and San Pedro de Conchos, escorted two priests to the La Junta pueblos to establish missions there.²⁸ The Indians were led by Don Antonio de la Cruz of Julimes, governor of the four Conchos pueblos, and by birth a native of San Francisco de La Junta. The party followed the Río Conchos to the pueblo of San Pedro near the Sierra Grande. This pueblo of Cholomes Indians had 190 occupants and cultivated many crops. Here the Spaniards were told that at a marsh two leagues away was the home of the chief Don Andrés Coyame, the ruler of all the Cholomes Indians. This is obviously a reference to the *ranchería* or pueblo later known as Coyame, or Collamé. A short distance farther down the Conchos they came to an outlying pueblo of La Junta Indians (Conejos nation) called Cuchillo Parado and re-named Nuestra Señora de Begonia, with 24 occupants (elsewhere given as 44).

Leaving Nuestra Señora de Begonia the party crossed a rough ridge at a distance of one-half league and then traveled altogether five leagues to La Cuesta Grande, at the foot of the main Cuchillo Parado ridge. The following day they crossed this ridge, following the short-cut route, to the Río Conchos at El Mesquite pueblo, 12 leagues distant. El

28. The records of this *entrada* including the rich diary of Trasvina Retis are reproduced in "The Founding of Missions at La Junta de los Ríos," translated by Reginald C. Reindorp, *Supplementary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Austin, 1938. The original document is in the *Archivo de San Francisco el grande, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico*.

Mesquite, renamed Nuestra Señora de Loreto, was the first actual La Junta pueblo visited. About one league down the Conchos they found the pueblo of the Cacalotes Indians, renamed San Juan Bautista, and four leagues down stream at the junction of the Conchos and the Río Grande they came to the pueblo of San Francisco de la Junta, of the Opoymes Indians.

The pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu of the Conejos Nation, located one and one-half leagues up the Río Grande from San Francisco was noted although it may not have been visited. The Río Conchos was crossed by raft to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the largest of all the La Junta pueblos, in which were united the Polacmes and Sibulas nations, each with its own plaza.²⁹

Beginning about one league below Guadalupe and on the banks of the Río Grande, three other pueblos, located close together, were described. The description and location of the pueblos is given in vague terms and it seems likely that Trasvina Retis did not himself visit this group. The first pueblo of the group named, but not necessarily the nearest, was Puliques, renamed Señor San José; the second pueblo named was that of the Conchos Indians and was named San Antonio de Padua; the third and largest was that of the Poxalmas Indians and was named San Cristóbal.

In all, the total number of Indians supposedly counted by the expedition, or by the native chiefs at the orders of Trasvina Retis, was 1405, including 80 who were absent working in the fields of San Bartolomé, but not including 44 (24?) Conejos Indians of Cuchillo Parado nor the Cholomes Indians of San Pedro. The diary of Trasvina Retis gives considerable information as to the architecture of the villages

29. At least, he crossed either the Río Conchos or the Río Grande. The writer in earlier papers assumed that the river crossed was the Río Grande, not the Conchos. Castañeda (C. E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, Vol. II, Chapter V, pp. 197-221, Austin, 1938) and Daniels (*op. cit.* [note 3]) also accept this interpretation. But the records do not identify by name the river crossed; this must be established by inference. However, in the light of the more detailed reports of later explorers who did specify their route in detail and with place names, the identification of the river crossed as the Río Conchos seems certain; Castañeda and Daniels, as well as the present writer, have misconstrued the general text. This conclusion is verified by re-examination of the original arguments by which the stream was identified as the Río Grande (*infra*, pp. 000.)

and houses, the native agriculture, and the disposition and dress of the Indians. At this time churches appear to have been standing in most if not all the villages, but in disrepair, and European traits were already conspicuously present, including dress, use of the Spanish language, agricultural products, tools, and perhaps irrigation methods, and some architectural features, to mention only the more obvious. The expedition ordered the rebuilding of the churches, left the priests and numbers of domestic animals and other supplies on hand and returned up the Conchos to the point of departure.

The La Junta Pueblos and Missions After 1715:

Following the expedition of Trasvina Retis to La Junta, the missions established there were maintained more or less permanently, with intervals of abandonment, throughout the remainder of the Indian period. Additional priests were dispatched to La Junta in 1716 and the missions of Nuestro Señor La Redonda del Collamé, Nuestra Señor Padre San Francisco, San Pedro del Cuchillo Parado, San Juan, and San Cristóbal were founded.³⁰ The missions were temporarily abandoned in 1718 but reoccupied shortly thereafter and not again abandoned until 1725. Following the Indian uprising of that year they were perhaps not reoccupied until 1732 or 1733, although the data are somewhat contradictory. In the latter years, however, they were reoccupied and certainly not abandoned again.

The Ydoiaga Entrada (1747-1748):

In the year 1747 three separate expeditions visited La Junta as a part of a plan for examination of the area between the mouth of the Río Conchos and the settlements on the lower Río Grande in Coahuila, and to determine the feasibility of placing a *presidio* at La Junta.

The first and most important of these *entradas* was that made by Captain Joseph de Ydoiaga.³¹ Ydoiaga's party left San Bartolomé on the upper Río Conchos in November, 1747,

30. "Declaration of Fray Miguel de Menchero, Santa Bárbara, May 10, 1744," translation in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , Vol. III, p. 394-412.

31. Ydoiaga, *op. cit.* [note 4].

and followed the general course of the river toward La Junta. Some 29 leagues below San Antonio de Julimes the party came to the pueblo of Santa Cruz de los Cholomes located on the Río Conchos near present day Pueblito. This was an outlying La Junta colony recently founded by 299 refugees from Coyame, Cuchillo Parado and the Río Grande above La Junta.

The expedition then journeyed to Coyame and thence on to the lower Río Conchos by way of the cut-off trail over the Sierra Grande. A scouting party visited the site of Cuchillo Parado and found it deserted, as was Coyame. Continuing down the river the party came first to El Mesquite and then to the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, located four leagues across the hills from the canyon mouth and on the north side of the river. The Mesquite Indians had their lands on the south side of the Río Conchos opposite San Juan. The Mesquites had joined the Cacolotes of San Juan in this vicinity for protection against the Apache. Here also various Conejos and Cholomes Indians had gathered.

Continuing down the north (and west) side of the river for four leagues Ydoiaga came to San Francisco de la Junta, located, as it is today, just northwest of the junction of the Río Conchos with the Río Grande. The party then traveled one league southeast across two branches of the Río Conchos, just above the spot where that river joined the Río Grande, to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Continuing down the southwestern or Mexican side of the Río Grande the party came to the pueblo of San Antonio de los Puliques, three short leagues from Guadalupe, *en route* passing San Cristóbal, which was situated on the northeastern side of the joined rivers halfway between the other two pueblos.

Ydoiaga and his party were then conducted eleven leagues farther down the Río Grande to another fertile valley, obviously the Redford valley, located just above the head of a deep canyon through which the river ran. In the middle of this valley and on the northern bank they found the ruins of the former pueblo of Tapalcolmes, where the Pescados Indians had lived before going to Puliques. The party then returned up the river some 13 leagues and crossed to the

northern bank, above Puliques pueblo, to the pueblo of San Cristóbal, located directly on the bank of the Río Grande and midway between Puliques and Guadalupe. The Spaniards then traveled to the site of the former Cibolo pueblo. The ruins of this pueblo were found 13 leagues north and east of Cristóbal in a deep arroyo or canyon where a spring emerged from a high mountain. Traces of farming activities and adobe house ruins, possibly those of a Catholic chapel, were found here.

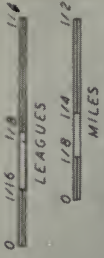
Ydoiaga returned to San Francisco pueblo at La Junta and after a few days made a long journey up the Río Grande to find and punish hostile Indians reported to be living at El Cajón. *En route*, he found an abandoned pueblo of the Tecolotes Indians on the Mexican side of the Río Grande about seven leagues above La Junta. No other pueblos, occupied or deserted, were found on the Río Grande above this point, and the remainder of Ydoiaga's journey up the river and his return is of no concern in this paper. After remaining in La Junta for some months and sending out various other scouting expeditions, Ydoiaga and his party returned up the Río Conchos to their headquarters.

The Rábago y Terán Entrada (1746-1747) :

An exploring party led by Don Pedro de Rábago y Terán, Governor of Coahuila, traveled across the mountains of Coahuila to the lower Big Bend, thence across the southern tip of that region, and then back into present day Chihuahua and through the Sierra Rica region to La Junta.³² The last two days of travel of this party brought them along the route now followed by the Ojinaga-Chihuahua City highway from about the vicinity of Chapó (or El Nogal) to Ojinaga, which was at that time Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. After camping overnight in the plaza of this pueblo the Spaniards traveled down the Río Grande to the Redford valley. In the middle of this valley and on the northeast bank of the Río Grande they saw the ruined adobe walls of a mission, which

32. "Diario de la Compañía executada por el Govern^{or} de Coahuila Don Pedro de Rábago y Terán en el año de 1747, para el reconocimiento de las margenes del Río Grande del Norte," Mexico, *Archivo General de la Nacion, Historia*, Vol. 52, Expediente No. 6. Hackett Transcripts, Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

SAN JUAN EVANGELISTA



APPROXIMATE SCALES



RIO BRAVO
DEL NORTE
(Rio Grande)

RIO BRAVO
DEL NORTE
(Rio Grande)

SAN FRANCISCO DE LA JUNTA

RIO CONCHOS

LA JUNTA DE LOS RIOS

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE
(Ojinaga)

was said to be the old site of the pueblo of San Antonio de Puliques [actually of the Pescados Indians of that pueblo] where the Tapalcolmes Indians had formerly lived. Here the party crossed the northern bank of the Río Grande and followed the river upstream to the Pueblo of San Cristóbal located on the northern bank. Here the expedition crossed to the south bank of the Río Grande and returned to Guadalupe. On a later scouting trip Rábago y Terán journeyed to San Juan pueblo, located on the Río Conchos some five or six leagues from Guadalupe. Here on the banks of the river there were distinct groups of *jacales* in which lived the Conejos, Cacalotes, Mesquites, and other Indians. He then returned down the Río Conchos to San Francisco and two days later began his return to Coahuila, leaving the river in the vicinity of San Cristóbal and Puliques in order to follow a new route across the Big Bend and thence through Coahuila to Monclova.

The Vidaurre Entrada (1747-1748) :

A party led by Don Fermín de Vidaurre, Capitán of the Presidio of Santiago de Mapimi, traveled from Mapimi to Monclova and thence across Coahuila, by a slightly different route from that followed by Rábago y Terán, across the Big Bend, and back into Chihuahua, thence through the Sierra Rica area to La Junta, striking the Río Grande on the south side, between the pueblos of San Antonio de Puliques and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.³³ The following day the party went four leagues farther up the Río Grande, past Guadalupe, crossed the Río Conchos to San Francisco de la Junta, and then went four leagues farther up the same river to San Juan pueblo where they joined Ydoiaga's forces.

The Rubín de Celis Entrada (1750-1751) :

In 1750 a party led by Alonso Victores Rubín de Celis left El Paso (modern Juarez) and marched approximately 71 leagues due south, following the modern Juarez-Chihua-

33. "Derrotero, Diario, y Autos Echos por el capⁿ del R¹ Presidio de S^tiago de Mapimi D. Fermín de Vidaurre en Reconocimiento de las Marjenes del Río del Norte hasta los Pueblos de la Junta," *Mexico, Archivo General de la Nacion, Historia*, Vol. 53, Expediente No. 8. Hackett Transcripts, Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

hua City highway, to the vicinity of Carrizal, thence 15 leagues southeast to Hormigas, and then 24 leagues east to the Río Conchos.³⁴ Apparently most of the latter part of the journey followed the present route of the Orient railway from near Encantada to the vicinity of Pueblito on the Río Conchos. During the final stages of the journey the Spaniards were guided by Suma Indians who were *en route* to a new pueblo that had been established on the river.

The party went 14 leagues down the Río Conchos to this "new" pueblo, which apparently was located near modern San Pedro, if not on its actual site. This town was situated on the northern bank of the Conchos and just across a high mountain ridge from Cuchillo Parado, farther down the river.³⁵ The party then detoured over the mountains to the deserted pueblo of Coyame. A scouting party followed the arroyo down to the Conchos; across the river here could be seen the houses of Cuchillo Parado on the east bank. The Indian guide said that people of the same nation as the pueblo just up stream lived there. In subsequent days the expedition traveled 24 leagues east over the Sierra Grande and down into the meadows of the Río Conchos near San Juan Pueblo.

Immediately after descending to the Conchos valley the Spaniards saw *jacales* across the river on the north bank; soon thereafter they came to the outlying houses of Mesquites Pueblo on the south bank. A league and a half beyond they came to San Juan pueblo. This town was located on two small hills, divided by an arroyo, on the north side of the Río Conchos.

After leaving San Juan the party marched three leagues down the north side of the Río Conchos to San Francisco,

34. "Testimonio de los autos del reconocimiento fecho [hecho?] Río avajo de el Norte desde el expresado Río hasta las Misiones de la Junta de dicho Río, y el de Conchos, por el Capitán del Real Presidio del Paso Don Alonso Victores Rubín de Zelis," *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Cuaderno 5, 136-67-3-30. Transcript in Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

35. Just above the small Cuchillo Parado valley the Río Conchos emerges from a steep sided canyon, the Cañon de Prisa, which cuts through a high mountain ridge. A winding, well-worn horse and foot trail comes down the northeastern side of this ridge following the river canyon on the southeast side. This, said the people of Cuchillo Parado, was the direct trail from San Pedro, located a short distance across the mountain ridge. It seems probable that this is an old established trail and that the pueblo was San Pedro. But if so it was not a new pueblo, since Trasvina Retis visited and described San Pedro in this location in 1715.

located on a short high hill which formed a point near where the two rivers joined. Across the Río Conchos could be seen the houses of the pueblo of Guadalupe, occupying the crest of another high hill overlooking the lowlands of the east bank of that river. The party did not cross the flooding Río Conchos but instead returned northward up the Río Grande to El Paso.

Late 18th Century and 19th Century Entradas:

The Spaniards finally established a *presidio* at La Junta in 1759-1760 at the time of the second *entrada* of Rubín de Celis.³⁶ Pedro Tamarón y Romeròl in 1765 described the La Junta pueblos, adding some information of value to our knowledge of their location and history, but it is not clear whether or not he had personally visited La Junta.³⁷ In 1771 Nicolas de Lafora started from Chihuahua to La Junta as part of his tour of inspection of the frontier *presidios*. After having gone only a short distance however, he was informed that the *presidio* had been moved from La Junta to Julimes and consequently the trip was discontinued. Nevertheless, his comments add to our knowledge of La Junta at this late period.³⁸ In 1773 Hugo O'Connor made a tour of inspection of the border *presidios* and proposed *presidio* sites. He came to La Junta through the Sierra Rica pass from San Carlos and after a brief inspection of the deserted *presidio* returned to Chihuahua via the Río Conchos.³⁹ Numerous expeditions visited the portions of Texas adjacent to La Junta in the late 18th century and early 19th century but either they did not visit the river junction or else the data given regarding the La Junta pueblos in the documents consulted is negligible.

36. This statement is based on Castañeda, *op. cit.* [note 29], pp. 229-230. Castañeda does not give his source and the present writer has been unable to locate the documents of the *entrada*.

37. *Pedro Tamarón y Romeròl, Demostración del Vastísimo Obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1765, Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, Nuevo Mexico, Chihuahua, y Porciones de Texas, Coahuila, y Zacatecas, con una introducción bibliográfica y acotaciones por Vito Alessio Robles. Biblioteca Historica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas, 7, Mexico. Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1937.*

38. *Nicolas de Lafora, Relación del Viaje que Hizo a los Presidios Internos, Situados en la Frontera de la América Septentrional, Perteneciente al Rey de España, Con un Limitar Bibliográfico y Acotaciones, por Vito Alessio Robles. Editorial Pedro Robredo, Mexico, D. F., 1939.*

39. "O'Connor to the Viceroy, May 10, 1773," *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara*, Dunn Transcripts, 1773-1741, pp. 91-93. Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

In the 1850's field parties of the U. S. and Mexican Boundary Commission visited La Junta and some geographic descriptions which they published are of value.⁴⁰ Other than this the reports of United States explorers and military men have not been found of value with regard to the La Junta pueblos.

IV. *Archaeology*

Archaeological reconnaissance and excavation in the La Junta region and the related drainage areas of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande have contributed many data regarding the La Junta pueblos and their locations. The general archaeology of the area is now fairly well known, although the details are as yet vague.

There seems to have been a long earlier occupation of the region, probably dating back several thousand years before the Christian era, by peoples with a primitive food gathering culture, termed the Big Bend Aspect. Sites of this culture are found primarily in the mountains and plateaus, especially in rock shelters, but there must have been some occupation of the river valleys as well. The last manifestation of this aspect, the Chisos Focus, represents a late cultural development, particularly well represented in the mountains surrounding La Junta, which shows influence from agricultural—pottery making peoples. This way of life may have survived in modified form in the primitive culture of the historic Chisos Indians.

Concurrently with the development of the Chisos Focus other peoples came into the region bringing with them a new cultural tradition, involving such traits as the use of the bow and arrow, snub-nose scrapers, and finely worked flake knives of stone. This Livermore Focus may have appeared as early as 900 A.D. Although the focus apparently represents the culture of a Plains hunting people, it must have played an important part in the development of the La Junta pueblos, because the lithic industry, including many specific artifact types, introduced at this time survived as the lithic tradition of the La Junta culture.

40. Major William E. Emory, *Report on the U. S. and Mexico Boundary Survey*. House of Representatives, 1857. Washington, D. C.

By about 1000-1100 A. D. a sedentary, agricultural, pottery-making way of life had begun to spread down the Río Grande valley from the vicinity of El Paso. By about 1200-1300 permanent villages of peoples possessing this culture had been established throughout the Río Grande and Río Conchos valleys adjacent to La Junta. Here developed the first phase of a specialized local culture which the archaeologists have called the Bravo Valley Aspect. This first village-dwelling culture of the Bravo Valley Aspect is known as the La Junta Focus, dated at about 1200-1400 A.D., and represents the most widespread utilization of the region by farming peoples. Most of the historic La Junta pueblos have debris of this prehistoric culture underlying the later ruins and refuse, and in addition there are numerous other village sites throughout the area that were occupied only during the earlier period and for some reason, probably arising out of ecological factors, were abandoned at its close.

The beginning of the second period of the Bravo Valley Aspect, the Concepción Focus, dated at 1400-1700 A. D., found the area occupied by sedentary peoples reduced to the immediate vicinity of La Junta, the Redford valley to the south, and the lower drainage of the Río Conchos above La Junta. This was also a time when new peoples and a new cultural tradition came into the region, bringing changes in house type, pottery type, and probably changes in the non-material aspects of the culture as well. It is possible that the Toyah Focus, a plains-type hunting culture employing the bow and arrow, a specialized pottery type, skin tipis, and other local specialties was the culture responsible for these changes. This focus is thought to represent the archaeological culture of the Jumano Indians, who enjoyed an intimate trade and friendship relationship with the La Junta peoples and perhaps should even be included with them. However the Jumano were plains hunters who at best only spent the cold winter months at La Junta, returning to the bison plains to hunt and trade when spring came each year. The archaeological remains which they left are inextricably mixed at La Junta with Concepción Focus there. It is possible that the Jumano, and the Toyah Focus, represent the advance

wave of Athapascan migration into the area, but on the other hand they may represent a development in *situ* out of the older Livermore Focus.

At any rate the Concepción Focus represents the archaeological remains of the culture which the Spanish explorers found and described in the La Junta towns in the 16th and 17th centuries. The documentary descriptions agree with and supplement the archaeological findings. As Spanish influence grew greater at La Junta, we find ever increasing evidence in the archaeological remains and in the documents of the progressive acculturation of the native culture. This period of Spanish-influenced native culture at La Junta, the mission period, has been called the Conchos Focus, and it is more or less arbitrarily referred to the 18th century, although the beginning date may actually have been as early as the time of the founding of the first missions in 1683 and the end of the period may actually belong well into the 19th century. The initial and terminal dates of such a period must be a matter of definition.

By the time the first Anglo-Americans entered the La Junta area in the middle 19th century, the native culture apparently was quite well integrated into the local Mexican culture, as it is today. Nevertheless, in pottery, house type, economy, and perhaps in many other ways the Indian elements survive in the modern Mexican culture. Ruins belonging to this 19th and early 20th century Mexican period are referred to the Alamitos Focus and are easily recognized and differentiated from the earlier Conchos Focus archaeological remains, although both contain historic artifacts.

V. *Location and Description of the La Junta Pueblos*

Identification of the exact sites of historic Indian pueblos is often difficult or impossible. It is through a fortunate combination of circumstances that the sites of most of the La Junta pueblos can be identified with some assurance of accuracy. First of all, the physiography of the region is bold; there are many lasting and outstanding features in the landscape which form sure landmarks. Thus, the exact location of the junction of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande is not

static, but shifts from time to time. But the range of shifting of both rivers is restricted by the gravel mesas which enclose them on either hand. The outstanding landmarks are geologically much older than any of the cultural remains and apparently have changed very little in appearance during the last thousand years or so. Even the shifting courses of the rivers are imprinted indelibly on the valley floor in the form of old abandoned channels.

Secondly, several of the pueblos still exist today as Mexican towns and have the same name by which they were known in the 18th Century. The locations of these towns correspond to the descriptions given in the documents and provide both a check on the accuracy of the records and specific anchors to which the other town locations may be tied. Thirdly, not one but several *entradas* described most of the pueblos; the combined records check and supplement individual descriptions. Fourthly, archaeological sites by virtue of their nature and location are easily discovered in this region and it seems sure that the sites of the great majority of both late prehistoric and historic villages of this culture have been located. Most of these prove to have been continuously occupied over several centuries throughout the existence of the Bravo Valley Aspect and those that survived into the historic period carry sure signs of the historic occupation on their exposed surfaces. This factor reduces the potential locations of the pueblos to a small number of choices, or only one in specific cases, and coupled with the landmarks in each instance makes specific identifications possible and dependable. Furthermore, the permanence of occupation indicated by the archaeological deposits disposes of the suggestion that the principal villages were transitory *rancherías* moved from spot to spot over the years.

Where there is an archaeological site of the historic period in the proper physiographic location and in the specified spatial relation to other towns, and no other sites of the appropriate period exist in similar locations in the vicinity, and especially when the town still bears the name of the former Indian pueblo, there can be little doubt of its identification. But when any of these lines of evidence are lacking,

fragmentary or contradictory, or if they are inferential and not specific, then there may be reason to doubt the identification proposed, and at best the probability of an accurate identification having been made is decreased accordingly. Several of the principal La Junta pueblo sites have been located with fair assurance as indicated in the following pages; but in some instances there must remain doubt.

San Antonio de Julimes ("El Xacal"?) :

Julimes is not usually classed among the La Junta pueblos, and strictly speaking should not be so identified. But the Julimes Indians themselves represent one of the main ethnic elements in the aboriginal La Junta population; the governor of Julimes on occasion originally came from San Francisco de La Junta, and there remained a strong bond between Julimes and the river junction towns. There is even some evidence that San Antonio de Julimes was a colony founded in the middle 17th century by Julimes Indians who came from La Junta to work in the plantations and mines of the upper Río Conchos.⁴¹ For that reason it will be considered briefly in this report.

The Rodríguez and Espejo *entradas* found the Río Conchos above Cuchillo Parado occupied by the Conchos Indians. On the Río Conchos two leagues below the mouth of the Río San Pedro, approximately at the present location of modern Julimes, Chihuahua, the Espejo expedition halted at a place called "El Xacal." Luxán states that it was given this name because Lope de Arísti, captain from Santa Bárbara, took captives there and built a *jacal* hut in which to protect his prisoners from the rain. Here the Espejo expedition found a cross marking the grave of Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, the leader of the Rodríguez expedition, who had been buried here earlier, the same year.⁴²

When Mendoza came up the Río Conchos from La Junta *en route* to El Paso in 1684 he found the pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes in approximately its present location, settled with Christian Indians, and long enough established to have

41. "Notes on Julimes, Chihuahua," by J. Charles Kelley. *El Palacio*, Vol. 56, No. 12, pp. 358-361, December, 1949.

42. Luxán, in Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.* [note 18], p. 52.

an adobe church in the plaza.⁴³ Significantly, at this time the La Junta Indians, including the Julimes, were already engaged in going up the Conchos to work in the mines and plantations of Parral and Santa Bárbara.⁴⁴ Other than this there is no information regarding the founding of Julimes. The present town is situated some 60 miles east of Chihuahua City on the high gravel mesas on the east bank of the Río Conchos, overlooking fertile flood-plain farm lands and a shallow ford in the stream, and adjoining a fresh water creek and a hot spring. The modern inhabitants are quite conscious of their Indian ancestry and are quick to point out to strangers the location of the "indigenous pueblo," on the gravel mesas northwest of the town. Archaeological materials collected from this site include no artifacts definitely prehistoric or early historic in age; indeed they correspond most closely with the specimens found in the late 18th century refuse heaps of the La Junta pueblos. Thus the archaeological collections yield no data regarding the documented early historic period at Julimes, much less information regarding the date and circumstances of its founding. The older refuse and ruins may lie under the buildings of the present town, or there is a slight possibility that early Juli-

43. Mendoza, *Certificaciones*, 1684 [note 27].

44. Thus the Jumano, Juan Sabeata, declared at Parral in 1689 "that through some Indians who have come to their rancherías [the Jumano camps at La Junta] from [Parral] and from the labor on its hacienda they have learned of the good opinions that the Indians have of the governor." ("The Governor Arrives," in Hackett, *Pichardo's Treatise* . . . , II, 40, p. 261.) And Fray Agustín de Colina, president of the missions of La Junta, spoke of "the departure of the poor [La Junta] Indians to work on the haciendas." ("Declaration of Fray Agustín de Colina," *ibid.*, pp. 241-243). The records of the *Trasvina Retis entrada* in 1715 supply ample additional data with regard to this migratory labor force from La Junta. Thus, the Indians of San Pedro pueblo were "in the habit of going to the estates of General Don Juan Cortés del Rey . . . to work." "Don Santiago [General of the Cholomes] was on the point of going with some people to cut the said Cortés' wheat." The Julimes Indians of San Francisco de la Junta spoke very good Spanish and wore Spanish clothes. "In order to buy clothes, they travel more than one hundred thirty leagues at the risk of meeting enemies to work on the farm estates of San Bartolomé Valley." The Governor of San Antonio de Julimes, General Don Antonio de la Cruz, was himself a native of San Francisco de la Junta and had on occasion brought his own people to help the La Junta Indians fight the Apache. At San Francisco de Cuellar, *Trasvina Retis* wrote, "A few days after returning here from La Junta de los Ríos, Captain Don Pedro with forty Indians came from there *en route* to the wheat harvest on the farms of the San Bartolomé Valley. *Trasvina Retis* asked the Viceroy to authorize the Indians to work on his own farms, instead of going twice as far to work on the farms of the San Bartolomé valley. (*Trasvina Retis*, in Reindorp, *op. cit.* [note 28].

mes may have been situated on the west side of the river.⁴⁵

There is a somewhat remote possibility that prior to 1684 the original Julimes pueblo may have been located some distance farther down the Río Conchos at the approximate location of the pueblo of Santa Cruz. In 1715 Trasvina Retis noted that the Santa Cruz site, located near modern Pueblito, had earlier been occupied by the Auchanes Indians who had since then been incorporated in Julimes. In 1771 Nicolas de Lafora left Chihuahua City *en route* to inspect the Presidio del Norte at La Junta. He apparently followed the general line of the present day Orient railway out of Chihuahua to the vicinity of Hormigas. Here he was told that the road he was following continued to Julimes and then on to La Junta. But by no stretch of the imagination could this be true; the road led to the Río Conchos at Pueblito, near the old home of the Auchanes Indians, and thence on to La Junta. Julimes itself lay many miles up stream and on an alternate and entirely distinct route from Chihuahua to La Junta.

Later Lafora learned that Presidio del Norte had been moved from La Junta and reestablished at "Julimes el Viejo."⁴⁶ Could this "Old Julimes" be the Santa Cruz pueblo formerly occupied by the Auchanes, and was Presidio del Norte established there during the period of abandonment of La Junta by the Spaniards, rather than at San Antonio de Julimes as customarily thought? And was Julimes el Viejo the original site of Julimes from which it was moved to a better location up stream? This would fit nicely with the theory of the establishment of Julimes as a colony of La Junta Indians who had become laborers in the haciendas and mines of the upper Río Conchos and settled progressively closer to their source of income.

In 1765 Pedro Tamarón y Romerál noted that the popu-

45. Thus, both the Trasvina Retis and Ydoiaga expeditions apparently went down the west bank of the river from Julimes to the Vado de los Cholomes some seven leagues below La Junta, described on occasion as the "first crossing of the Río Conchos," where they crossed to the east bank. High mesas suitable for the location of a town are lacking on the west bank in this vicinity but there are several small towns situated on the lowlands only a short distance up stream from the Julimes ford and ferry. No archaeological evidence was noted there of the former existence of an old pueblo, but only a cursory search was made. But Lafora's map of 1771 shows Julimes in its present location.

46. Robles, *Nicolas de Lafora, Relación . . .*, pp. 72-74.

lation of Julimes had been reduced to seven families of Indians, totaling 52 persons. By that time at least it occupied its present site on the east side of the Río Conchos. At that late date it was still the last of the true peaceful and Christianized pueblos, the "jumping-off place" for *entradas* into the La Junta region and the *despoblado* as it had been throughout the 18th century. For this reason the "gente de razón" had been inclined to desert their homes and fertile fields there in fear of the Apache.⁴⁷ According to Robles the population in 1937 was 1,411⁴⁸ and there are many small hamlets located nearby on the western side of the Conchos.

Santa Cruz (Ranchos de Herrán?):

There are extensive areas of lowland suitable for riverine and *temporal* farming along the Río Conchos valley immediately above and below the Orient Railway bridge, in the vicinity of the modern towns of Santo Domingo in the upper valley, Falomir at the bridge, and Pueblito in the lower valley. Rodríguez and Espejo found Conchos Indian *rancherías* along this stretch of the river in 1581-1583, and in 1684 Mendoza noted almost continuous *rancherías*, perhaps Conchos, in this vicinity. Trásvina Retis in 1715 noted at about the location of Pueblito or Falomir the deserted pueblo of Santa Cruz, at the old Rancho de Herrán, where the Auchanes Indians, who had now been incorporated in San Antonio de Julimes, had formerly lived. As far back as 1684, the head chief of the Conchos named the Auchanes (Yaochane) as one of the confederacy of Conchos (and La Junta) tribes which he had governed since 1642.⁴⁹ In 1747 Ydoiaga found the new pueblo of Santa Cruz established on the old site by refugees from Coyame, Cuchillo Parado, and the Río Grande. The new pueblo included Cholomes, Conejos, Tecolotes, and some heathen Indians, total 299 persons. They raised corn, calabashes, and beans in the moist river lowlands and were said to have ample lands to care for their needs. They had united in this pueblo because of repeated Apache attacks on

47. Robles, *Pedro Tamerón y Romeròl, Demostración . . .*, p. 155.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

49. Quoted in Carl Sauer, "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, 5, p. 64, Berkeley, 1934.

their smaller individual home pueblos. Only four years later, in 1751, Rubín de Celis was led by Suma Indians to the Río Conchos in this locality but mentions only small Indian *rancherías* in the vicinity. Significantly, the Indians of Cuchillo Parado had returned to their own pueblo at this time, apparently deserting the community colonization project at Santa Cruz. The writer searched farmlands and bluffs across the Río Conchos from Pueblito in the summer of 1949 without finding any archaeological sites, and high water in the river made it impossible to check the more promising areas on the northwestern bank near the pueblo. In the summer of 1951 an archaeological site was discovered on the bluffs on the east side of the Río Conchos opposite Santo Domingo, and another on a low knoll east of the river in the valley opposite Falomir. Neither of these sites nor the others that certainly must exist there could be specifically identified as Santa Cruz. But from the documentary evidence the various expeditions travelled from Las Chorreras in the mountains to the south to the Río Conchos at a point about two leagues above Santa Cruz. They could have reached the river as far upstream as Santo Domingo or as far down stream as Falomir. Santa Cruz, located two leagues down the river, was probably located on the east bank near Falomir or the western bank near Pueblito. No data are immediately available regarding the founding of the modern towns here and their relation to the older pueblo.

San Pedro (Santa Teresa?) :

This is not the pueblo San Pedro de Conchos, which is located on the Río San Pedro, a branch of the Río Conchos above Julimes. This pueblo was located on the Río Conchos about 14 leagues below Pueblito, just across a mountain ridge from Cuchillo Parado, and two leagues or more from Coyame. It was visited and named by Trásvina Retis in 1715. As described then it had fertile farmlands on which wheat, maize, pumpkins, and string beans were raised. The occupants were 190 Cholomes Indians, who were regarded as peripheral members of the La Junta group. Earlier, in 1684, Mendoza had noted extensive *rancherías* in this vicinity and

had called them, collectively, Santa Teresa. The Ydoiaga expedition went by way of Coyame after leaving Santa Cruz, and there are no data as to whether San Pedro was, like Cuchillo Parado, abandoned at that time or not. Rubín de Celis found it a large and active pueblo in 1751 and noted that recent additions to its population were Suma *apostates* from a Río Grande mission south of El Paso. The natives were said by Rubín de Celis to be of the same nation as those occupying Cuchillo Parado, who were elsewhere described as Conejos, but it seems more probable that the identification of them as Cholomes by Trasvina Retis is more accurate. Modern San Pedro is situated on the southeast bank of the Río Conchos a short distance across the mountain ridge from Cuchillo Parado. It was not visited in the field, so nothing is known of its archaeology. It seems probable that the modern pueblo occupied approximately the same site as the former Indian town.

Cuchillo Parado (Nuestra Señora de Cuchillo Parado; Santa Polonia) :

At about the location of the ridge separating San Pedro and Cuchillo Parado, the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions crossed a political and linguistic boundary from the Conchos nation to another Indian group which was said to differ in language from both the Conchos and the Patarabueye of the La Junta towns, and to be at war with both groups. Gallegos called this group the Cabris and Luxán termed them Passaguates; immediately after leaving them the Spaniards crossed the Sierra Grande. This places the Cabris-Passaguates quite definitely in the Cuchillo Parado valley.

Whatever their language and political views may have been, descriptions of their culture given in the documents of the 1581-1583 *entradas* place them culturally with the La Junta Indians, and they were so regarded in later times.

After crossing the Sierra Grande from the lower Río Conchos valley in 1684, Mendoza found in this location Indian *rancherías* which he called Santa Polonia. Trasvina Retis in 1715 found the Conejos Indians living here and named the town Nuestra Begona de Cuchillo Parado, usually

shortened thereafter to Cuchillo Parado. Here were 44 Indians (elsewhere given as 24) raising the same agricultural products as their neighbors up stream at San Pedro, and like them given to supplementing their farm fare with fish from the river. *Trasvina Retis* locates the town itself a short distance down stream from San Pedro, apparently on the southeast bank of the river. Half a league below the town there was a rough mountain ridge; beyond it was the great jumble of ridges of the Sierra Grande. At this point the cut-off trail over the mountains to Mesquite pueblo began.

Ydoiaga in 1747 found 120 Indians from Cuchillo Parado among the colonists at Santa Cruz. The town of Cuchillo Parado was then deserted, but it was the opinion of his lieutenant, who inspected the site, that the farm lands there were better than those at the new location.

Rubín de Celis followed the Coyame arroyo to the Río Conchos opposite the town. He found it situated on the east bank of the river opposite the mouth of the arroyo and just over the mountain from San Pedro. He was told that it was occupied by people of the same nation as those of San Pedro; hence it presumably had been recently reoccupied.

The modern town of Cuchillo Parado occupies a high gravel mesa overlooking the river lowlands of the east bank of the river near the mouth of Palo Blanco Arroyo and directly across the Conchos from the mouth of the Coyame Arroyo. Just north of town a jagged but relatively low ridge, an escarpment formed by the upturned edge of a geologic stratum, trends from the river eastward toward La Mula. Just beyond it is the first of the several high ridges of the Sierra Grande. The cutoff trail to Mesquite pueblo and the lower Río Conchos begins here and can plainly be seen ascending the steep southern flank of the Sierra Grande. A mile or so to the south another high ridge trends across the country from east to west. The Río Conchos runs through this ridge in cliff-walled Cañon de Prisa, the mouth of which is visible from the town, as is the well torn trail from San Pedro winding down the ridge just east of the canyon. The Conchos swings in a great curve around the modern pueblo and there are good and relatively shallow fords across the

river below and above the village. On the mesas on the western side of the river lie the scattered houses of the modern hamlet of Magle. This stretch of the Río Conchos is famous today for its excellent fishing and the town of five hundred or more people benefits from this resource as well as from the produce of the limited amount of local farm land.

The present situation of the town itself is by far the best one available in the valley. Judging from the description, this must have been the pueblo site in earlier days as well. If so, a fairly large archaeological site must underlie the modern town. No evidence of this ruin, if it exists, was uncovered but a ring of smaller archaeological sites surround the modern pueblo. These range in cultural affiliations, as judged by materials collected from their surfaces, from La Junta Focus (1200-1400 A.D.), through Concepción Focus (1400-1700 A.D.), to Conchos (1700-1800 A.D.), and Álamo Focus (1800-present). Apparently there has been a more or less continuous occupation, although by only a small population, of the Cuchillo Parado vicinity from the La Junta Focus to the present day. It is reasonable to assume therefore that the former Indian population has been submerged in the present Mexican population, but if so the natives are not aware of their local Indian ancestry.

Coyame (Nuestro Señor La Redonda del Collamé) :

When the Trasvina Retis party visited San Pedro in 1715 they were told that Don Andrés Coyame was the "general of all the Cholomes," and that he lived with some of his people at a *ciénega* two leagues distant. One of the missions established in 1716 was "Nuestro Señor La Redonda del Collamé." In 1747 at Santa Cruz there were 60 Indian colonists from "la Ciénega de el Coyame." Ydoiaga visited this location, leaving the Río Conchos a short distance below Santa Cruz and heading north three leagues to the Arroyo del Pastor, then eight leagues to the Ciénega del Coyame. This was an area of small springs but poor land located not far from Cuchillo Parado and some 11 leagues from the head of the canyon which the Río Conchos has cut through the Sierra Grande. Coyame was deserted at this time.

Rubín de Celis in 1751 traveled north eight leagues over a rough mountain road from San Pedro to the marshes of Coyame. The water of the springs there ran down an arroyo which flowed into the Río Conchos in front of Cuchillo Parado. Coyame itself was deserted but at San Pedro Rubín de Celis had encountered a party of forty Indians and their chief, on horseback, and had been informed by the chief that they were from Coyame but had left there to go to the new pueblo because of Apache attacks.⁵⁰ The name used in the records of this expedition was "El Pueblo de Santa María la Redonda, alias el Coyame."

Today there exists a hamlet called Coyame located about 11 miles west of Cuchillo Parado at the junction of the Coyame Arroyo and the Arroyo del Pastor. This is undoubtedly the Coyame of the earlier accounts. Coyame was not visited in the field and nothing is known regarding archaeological evidence there nor of the size or location of the pueblo. After its abandonment it must have been reoccupied in either the late 18th century or early in the following century because the La Junta archives contain numerous references to the *visita* of Coyame during the 19th century.

El Mesquite (Nuestra Señora de Loreto) :

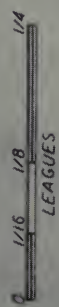
After descending to the Río Conchos valley at the foot of the cut-off trail across the Sierra Grande, the Rodríguez party came to a settlement of the Amotomanco Indians. A short distance farther down the Conchos they crossed over the intervening hills to the Río Grande. In the same location the Espejo party found a settlement of Otomoaco, or Patara-bueye Indians. This settlement was located on the Río Conchos, in some dense mesquite groves and near a high ridge or *sierra* and a gorge, perhaps the canyon the Conchos has cut through the Sierra Grande, and two and one half leagues above the point where the cut-off trail to the Río Grande left the Conchos. It will be recalled that Mendoza in 1684 noted a

50. All the evidence is that this conversation took place at San Pedro, but these are obviously the same Indians who were found at Santa Cruz by Ydoiaga. Perhaps they had returned to Coyame to visit their old pueblo—as do modern Pueblo Indian colonists in New Mexico when they have moved out into more conveniently located farming hamlets away from the mother pueblo—and were on their way back to Santa Cruz.



SAN ANTONIO DE PULIQUES

RIO BRAVO DEL NORTE

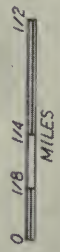


SHAFTER 8:2 (Unidentified)

SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA

CALAMITO CREEK

RIO BRAVO (RIO GRANDE)



PUEBLOS OF THE LOWER LA JUNTA VALLEY

Fig. III

“place of many people,” which he called Santa Catalina, eight leagues up the Conchos from La Junta and below the Sierra Grande in this same vicinity.

In 1715 Trasvina Retis followed the cut-off trail over the Sierra Grande from Cuchillo Parado and found in the rolling land of the Conchos valley, apparently on the south bank of the river, one league above San Juan, the first of the La Junta pueblos. This pueblo was called El Mesquite, but he renamed it Nuestra Señora de Loreto. Trasvina Retis described the pueblo as having “its plaza in the middle, [it] is well fenced with a wall. Its houses and portals have thin walls and roofbeams of sycamore, . . .” The land was open and rolling on both sides of the Río Conchos with mountains in the background. The Indians had much wheat, maize and beans planted in irrigated fields. There were 80 persons of all ages in the pueblo.

Ydoiaga in 1747 came four leagues down the Conchos from the Sierra Grande to “el Pueblesito que llaman el Mesquite.” Here he counted 77 Indians of the Mesquites nation.

Rábago y Terán in the same year inspected the San Juan-Mesquite area, which he found on the banks of the Conchos five or six leagues west of Guadalupe and two or three leagues above San Francisco. Here the Mesquite and Cacalotes (San Juan) Indians lived in distinct *jacalitos*.

Rubín de Celis crossed the Sierra Grande to the Río Conchos and passed a few scattered houses of Mesquite Indians on the south bank of the river about one and one-half leagues above San Juan. Previously he had noted Indian *jacales* on the other bank.

Tamarón y Romeròl in 1771 mentioned Mesquite as one of two “pueblos de visita” of San Juan; the other *visita* of San Juan was Conejos. The writer was informed at Cuchillo Parado in 1949 that the cut-off trail over the Sierra Grande intersects the Río Conchos at Mesquite pueblo. At San Juan the same year, he was informed that Mesquite was a small pueblo on the south side of the Río Conchos a short distance above San Juan, apparently also above Santa Teresa on the north side of the river. Circumstances made it impossible to visit the town, so nothing is known of its archaeological

background or of its present situation. Apparently the general location of the modern pueblo is the same as that of the ancient town.

San Juan Bautista (Santa Catalina; La Paz) :

As previously stated, the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions in 1581 and 1582 found Amontomanco or Otomoaco Indians at the foot of the Sierra Grande on the Río Conchos. After arriving at the first of these *rancherías* Espejo went two and a half leagues down the Conchos to a place which he called La Paz, where he was met by other La Junta Indians who had come from the river junction to talk with him. Here, at the location of modern San Juan, he took the cut-off trail over the hills to the Río Grande. Mendoza's "place of many people," eight leagues above La Junta and below Sierra Grande, named Santa Catalina in 1684, probably included San Juan as well as Mesquite.

One league below Mesquite and four leagues above La Junta, apparently on the north bank of the Río Conchos, Trasvina Retis came to an Indian pueblo of the Cacalotes nation, which he renamed San Juan Bautista. This should not be confused with a similarly named town on the Río Grande below Del Rio. Trasvina Retis said of this pueblo: "It is fenced and has its plaza in the middle, upon which the houses face, where the inhabitants, having put up arches, received me." San Juan at this time had a population of 165 persons, "young and old." In the general vicinity were "fields of wheat, corn and other grains on both banks of this river."

Ydoiaga in 1747 marched four leagues "by the hills" from the mouth of the Río Conchos canyon and the Sierra Grande to San Juan located on the Río Conchos four leagues above San Francisco and apparently on the north bank. Here he found the Cacalotes and the Conejos living together, but their lands were distinct, the latter group having joined the former because of fear of the Apache. There were 143 Cacalotes and 40 Conejos at San Juan at this time; in addition 38 Cholomes are listed for either San Juan or Mesquite. In this vicinity there was much good lowland suitable for farming; however, the Indian farms were small and non-

permanent, since the Indians farmed only those areas flooded by the rivers, and these shifted with the channel. Irrigation projects could be installed here only with difficulty because of the sandy nature of the river deposits.

Rábago y Teràn in the same year noted San Juan, with Mesquite, as lying some five to six leagues from Guadalupe on the Río Conchos two or three leagues above San Francisco. Vidaurre in 1748 marched four leagues up the north side of the Río Conchos from San Francisco to San Juan.

Rubín de Celis in 1751 found San Juan located in the lowlands of the north bank of the Río Conchos, one and a half leagues below the first Indian settlement after leaving the Sierra Grande, and three leagues up the river from San Francisco. The pueblo was located on two low hills divided by a small arroyo. There were four small houses of adobe, others made of palings, and an adobe house without furnishings, except for a painting of Saint John the Baptist one *vara* high. This house contained a small hall or court complete with a cell at the back for dispensations, and was said to be the habitation reserved for the use of the *Padre* when he came to the pueblo. The walls of a church some 14 or 15 *varas* (approximately 38 or 41 feet) in length by five *varas* (about 14 feet) in width with its transept, had been finished to a height of about a yard, and the outlines of the sacristy and baptistry were visible.

There were forty families living at San Juan at this time. The Spaniards inspected their lands and found them very poor. The Indians used only the moist sandy alluvium bared by the retreating river at low water. Each household planted a very small area with about a bushel and a half of wheat or other grain, using a digging stick and a gourd or pitched basket vessel of water in the planting. The newly planted field might be destroyed by the next rise. Rubín de Celis was surprised to learn that the Indians had no tools to aid them in their farming. When he attempted to barter tools to them they replied that their digging sticks were quite adequate. They had no livestock with the exception of a few unbranded horses.

Tamarón y Romerál in 1765 described San Juan as a

pueblo of 84 families and 309 Indians located on the Río Conchos five leagues southwest of La Junta. It had two *visitas*, one for the Conejos and one for the Mesquite Indians.

The modern pueblo of San Juan lies on the north bank of the Río Conchos about ten miles west of modern San Francisco, across the river and down stream from modern Mesquite, and about seven miles from Porvenir on the Río Grande. The town is a collection of scattered adobe houses and house-rows together with a large adobe church and numerous corrals, courts, and utility houses of various sorts. It lies on two high parallel eroded gravel mesas, separated by an arroyo, at the edge of the Río Conchos lowlands. The present short-cut road to the Río Grande leaves the Conchos about two miles up stream, but there is open terrain between San Juan and the Río Grande. When the town was visited in July, 1949, the only archaeological material found was on the mesa edge at the western edge of the town near the river. Here were fire cracked stones, flint chips, and potsherds in quantity. However the only pottery types noted were late historic wares of the Alamitos Focus, and perhaps a few attributable to the earlier historic Conchos Focus. Although there seems to be no question at all as to the identity of modern San Juan with the protohistoric Indian town, it seems probable that here as at Julimes, Cuchillo Parado, and Ojinaga, the earlier archaeological remains lie beneath the present structures and are masked from surface view. In 1937 San Juan had a population of 186 people, according to Robles.

San Francisco de la Junta (Santo Tomás) :

The town at the junction of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande was first named and described by the Espejo expedition in 1582, although Rodríguez and Chamuscado had undoubtedly visited it in 1581. Luxán called the town Santo Tomás, and said it had about 600 people. This was a town of the Abriaches nation and its cacique was named Baij Sibiye. Santo Tomás was located at the river junction five leagues down the Río Grande from San Bernardino, southwest of the Río Grande and northwest of the Río Conchos.⁵¹

51. This seems fairly certain for the following reasons: 1. The next day the party went to another town located on the *opposite* side (from Santo Tomás and from Santa

There was a cross here which had been erected the year before by the Rodríguez party.

Although the Mendoza-López party reported Indian *rancherías* of the Julimes nation on both sides of the Río Grande at La Junta, specific pueblos were not described. When the Trasvina Retis party visited La Junta in 1715 they called the pueblo located at this point San Francisco de la Junta, a name which had apparently been applied some time previously, perhaps at the time of the Mendoza-López *entrada*. San Francisco de la Junta was located four leagues down the Río Conchos from San Juan at the river junction southwest of the Río Grande and northwest of the Río Conchos. It lay directly across the Conchos from Guadalupe pueblo and down the Río Grande about one and one half leagues from the town of the Conejos Indians called Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu.⁵²

San Francisco was described by Trasvina Retis as consisting of three distinct settlements separated from each other about 300 yards, with one settlement in the middle and the others on the outside. There was a church, apparently located outside the pueblo, which was in bad need of repair

Bárbara from the context) of the river called Del Norte [Río Grande], hence Santo Tomás was on this side, the southwest bank of the Río Grande. No earlier crossing of the Río Grande by the party had been noted. 2. When the party returned from New Mexico via the Pecos River they stopped at Santo Tomás for several days because the Río Conchos was so high that they could not cross it, as they needed to do in order to get to the trail over the Sierra Grande. Hence, Santo Tomás was on the northwest side of the Río Conchos.

52. The location of San Francisco from the data supplied by Trasvina Retis must be examined more explicitly. The actual statements of Trasvina Retis are, in effect, as follows: 1. San Francisco was located at the river junction in the center of the La Junta pueblos. 2. It was four leagues down the Río Conchos valley from San Juan. 3. It was one and one half leagues down the Río Grande from Aranzazu. 4. It was located across *either* the Río Conchos *or* the Río Grande from Guadalupe pueblo. The following inferences have been made: a. San Juan was on the northern side of the Río Conchos and the party went from there to San Francisco without any note of a river crossing; hence the latter town was located on the northwestern side of the Río Conchos; b. While waiting for rafts to be constructed to take the party across the river Indians were sent to take the census of Aranzazu, hence it was presumably located on the same side of the river as San Francisco. Aranzazu was said to be located on "this bank on the edge of the river that comes from the north [the Río Grande];" hence San Francisco was located on "this bank," i. e. the Mexican or southwest bank, of the Río Grande; c. This would place it across the Río Conchos from Guadalupe, confirming the other inferences. It should be noted that singly these inferences may be challenged; taken together and with the fact that this was specifically the location given for San Francisco by Ydoiaga in 1747 and that a town in that location is still called San Francisco de la Junta today they appear completely valid.

and lacked a friary and cells for the *padres*. Along both rivers and on little islands were stands of trees with thick foliage, including sycamore, willow, and tamarisk. There was much fertile land in which corn, wheat, and other grains were grown. In the pueblo were 180 people of the Oposmes nation, and Trasvina Retis expressed his delight at seeing them so reasonable and polite, and so well dressed in Spanish clothes. The people were all good natured and happy and appeared quite sociable and at ease with the Spaniards.

San Francisco next appears in the documents of the *en-tradas* of 1746-47. Rábago y Terán located it across the Río Conchos from Guadalupe and down the river from San Juan. Vidaurre placed it across the Río Conchos from Guadalupe and four leagues below San Juan. Ydoiaga located the pueblo at La Junta on the left or western bank of the Río Conchos four leagues below San Juan. It lay about one league across the two branches of the Conchos, just above their union with the Río Grande, from Guadalupe. Ydoiaga counted 217 people at San Francisco. Fifty of these were Tecolotes Indians; the others presumably Julimes (or Oposmes).

Rubín de Celis found San Francisco located three leagues down the Río Conchos from San Juan and on the same (northwestern) bank of the river. He describes its situation succinctly. It lay upon a short, high hill that formed a point near the junction of the Río Grande with the Río Conchos. From it could be seen the pueblo of Guadalupe located on another high hill across the Río Conchos. Neither of the two rivers were crossed; hence San Francisco lay southwest of the Río Grande and northwest of the Río Conchos at their junction.

Tamarón y Romerál in 1771 noted that San Francisco was situated at the river junction, but closer to the Conchos than the Río Grande, and on the west bank of the Conchos about one half league across that river from Guadalupe. At that time it had 42 families and 177 persons. Lafora's map of 1771 shows San Francisco in approximately its present position; O'Connor in 1773 did not mention the pueblo.

There is only one mesa tongue extending between the Río Grande and Río Conchos northwest of their junction. This

mesa is a dissected remnant of the high gravel terraces of the valley. It forms a point overlooking the lowlands not far from the junction and from it can be seen the houses of Ojinaga, site of the ancient pueblo of Guadalupe, across the Conchos valley. The pointed end of the mesa is broken up into three major and several minor segments by arroyos. On these segments today are found the scattered adobe houses of the settlement known as San Francisco de la Junta. Near the end of the mesa point, especially on the Río Conchos side, there are thick refuse heaps containing not only the debris of the modern pueblo but the firecracked stones, ashes, and artifacts of an Indian occupation as well. Preliminary collecting here produced pottery of the La Junta, Concepción, and Conchos foci, as well as some stone artifacts. The local inhabitants stated that a church had formerly stood in the pueblo but had been destroyed many years ago. This is undoubtedly the San Francisco pueblo of the Indian and Spanish periods, but today it has lost its importance in the La Junta valley under the impressive dominance of Ojinaga, formerly Guadalupe, across the valley.

(To be continued)

FIRST JESUIT SCHOOL IN NEW MEXICO

By E. R. VOLLMAR, S.J.*

THE PROBLEM of providing adequate educational facilities was one of the fundamental tasks that faced Archbishop Lamy. After the first survey of his diocese he was convinced that the answer could be found only in a group of missionaries who could not only administer parishes, give missions, but also were equipped with the manpower and training to open a college, or even eventually open a seminary to train a native clergy. The solution seemed to lie in obtaining the services of the members of the Society of Jesus.

A few months after the Archbishop arrived in Santa Fe he wrote to Father DeSmet at St. Louis asking that he be sent some Jesuits from the Missouri Province.¹ But not a single man could be spared at that time. Later Archbishop Lamy wrote to Rome asking that some province of the Jesuits be assigned to a mission in New Mexico. He did succeed in obtaining a loan of two Jesuits from the California Mission for a few months in 1864, but they came with the understanding that they were to stay only a short time. Finally, when in Rome in 1866, he requested Father Beckx, then General of the Society of Jesus, to give him some missionaries.²

The members of the Province of Naples had been driven into exile by Garibaldi in 1860, and were looking for a foreign mission. At first there was some hesitancy about accepting a mission in the "wild and woolly" west of the United States, but when ordered to take over the work, Father Francis Ferrante, Provincial of the Neapolitan Province immediately began looking for men capable of doing the job.

Father Donato Maria Gasparri, who was preaching at

* St. Louis University.

1. Letter of Father DeSmet, St. Louis University, Feb. 6, 1853, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, p. 322. Lyon, 1853.

2. F. M. Troy, S. J., *Historia Societatis Jesu in Novo Mexico et Colorado*, Ms., n.d., 140pp. Regis College Archives, Denver, VII.

Valencia, and Father Rafael Bianchi, professor of philosophy at Tortosa, Spain, were chosen along with two lay brothers. In New York they were joined by Father Livio Vigilante, who had been teaching at Holy Cross College. Father Vigilante, the only member who could speak English, was appointed first superior.

After an interesting journey across the plains³ they founded the first Jesuit mission in New Mexico at Bernalillo August 20, 1867.⁴ Many reasons have been given for the assignment of the missionaries to Bernalillo. There is one story to the effect that it was given because the parish was considered the richest in New Mexico. The story is without foundation. The real reason why the Jesuits were given Bernalillo was that there was a garden there connected with the residence and it was considered a possible location for a college.⁵

On December 8, 1867, Fathers Gasparri and Bianchi began a mission in Santa Fe. At the close of the mission some of the leading citizens of the capital asked the Jesuits to open a college there. The petition was given serious consideration, but as the Christian Brothers were already conducting a school there, and were having considerable difficulty obtaining financial support, it was thought best for the Jesuits to open their school in some different part of the diocese.

The parish of Albuquerque was without a pastor at that time and it was arranged for the Jesuits to take over the old church of San Felipe. In order to reach a satisfactory settlement with the former pastor it was necessary to assume the \$3,000 debt on the parish.⁶

Father Truchard, who preceded the Jesuits in Albuquerque, had invited the Sisters of Loretto to found a school in his parish. They came in 1866 and remained until 1869.⁷ The

3. Two good accounts of this journey may be found in Sister M. Lilliana Owens, *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882*. Revista Catolica Press, El Paso, Texas, 1951.

4. Troy, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

6. Troy, *op. cit.*, p. 19-22.

7. Sister M. Lilliana Owens, *History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Transmississippi West*, p. 325. Saint Louis University, 1935.

Sisters were forced to abandon the school because of the lack of financial support. At first the Jesuits were blamed because the closing of the school took place shortly after the arrival of the Fathers in Albuquerque. As a matter of fact it was only because of the help the Jesuits gave that the Sisters were able to live. Father Gasparri wrote a lengthy letter to the Albuquerque paper describing the conditions under which the Sisters had been living and silenced all criticism.⁸

The people of Albuquerque did not wish to be without a school. At their insistence the Jesuits opened a school near their residence in November, 1870. The school is referred to in the Jesuit records as an "escuela parroquial."

Father Gasparri invited the leading citizens of Albuquerque to a meeting Oct. 10, 1871, to discuss the founding of a college in Albuquerque. The plan of Father Gasparri was praised very highly, the work of the Jesuits lauded, but when the reporter for the newspaper asked to see the minutes of the meeting the secretary ingeniously confessed he had not written a single line.

In 1872 a state law was passed requiring a board of education in each county. The board for the county of which Albuquerque was the county seat asked Father Gasparri to be county superintendent of schools and to have the Jesuits open a public school in Albuquerque.⁹ Father Gasparri very prudently refused the offer. The same men had promised to help him found a college—not a public grammar school. After much negotiating, during which the board of education changed the offer of financial support several times, Father Gasparri finally agreed to take over the public school for a short time. Father Tromby started teaching about sixty boys on December 17, 1872. The house of Ambrosio Armijo served as the first school house.¹⁰

Father Gasparri did not give up his plans for a college. In 1873 he opened a school in the Jesuit residence, and dignified it with the title of "collegium inchoatum." The new

8. *Diario de la Mision S. J. desde su fundación en Abril 1867 hasta el ano 1872*, Ms., San Felipe Church, Old Albuquerque, Nov. 7, 1870.

9. Troy, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

10. *Diario de la Mision, op. cit.*, Dec. 17, 1872.

school was named Holy Family College. Father Francis Ferrante, the Neapolitan Provincial, had originally placed the new mission of New Mexico-Colorado under the protection of the Holy Family and had intended to call the mission by that name.¹¹ Fathers Tromby, Carrozzini, and Senese were assigned to the new school.

The *Litterae Annuae* for San Felipe Church contain the following description of this endeavour:

Division of residences—to begin with, the residence of Holy Family began to be gradually separated from the parish at the beginning of this year; a complete division cannot be made (for the present the buying for both houses must be in common), but only in such things as pertain to domestic order.—The principal work and office of the residence Holy Family is: the public school. . . In it is taught English (which is of great importance here), arithmetic, geography, and some exercises in writing Spanish. There are about 80 boys in the school, they are talented, studious, and well behaved.¹²

From this quotation it is evident that, though the location of the school had been moved and given a new name, there was really very little distinction between Holy Family College and the public school.

The institution was not so successful as the writer of the *Litterae Annuae* would have one believe. It is not even mentioned in the *Litterae* for the next year, nor is it listed in the *Catalogus Provinciae Neaplitanae* after 1874. Father Troy has characterized the school as,

. . . nothing but an attempt poorly executed of a school for the Albuquerqueans. It had a big title to interest superiors and the population. The superiors had too many other problems to solve and the inhabitants after the first flare did not care much for the institution.¹³

Interest in a college in Albuquerque soon died after the Jesuits opened Las Vegas College in 1877. The pupils at Holy Family College never advanced beyond the elementary subjects, and so the school was given over to the Sisters of Charity in 1885.¹⁴

11. *Diario de San Felipe en Old Albuquerque, Noticias*, 1873.

12. *Litterae Annuae Missionis Novi Mexici et Quarum Domorum Albuquerque 1873-74*, Ms., San Felipe Church, Old Albuquerque.

13. Letter of F. M. Troy to Edward R. Vollmar, S. J., Old Albuquerque, Dec. 18, 1936.

14. Troy, *Historia Societatis*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

SPRUCE McCOY BAIRD

By CLARENCE WHARTON *

SPRUCE McCoy Baird was born in Glasgow, Kentucky, October 8, 1814, and died suddenly June 5, 1872, at Cimarron, northeastern New Mexico, while attending court. Within these fifty-eight years he crowded much activity and mixed in many stirring events, great and small.

He was the fifth of ten children and faced the problem so common then and now, of getting out of an overcrowded environment and going somewhere.

He taught school on the plantation of an opulent Kentucky gentleman named Samuel Perrin Bowdry, and, of course, the planter had a beautiful daughter whom he did not want to marry an impecunious pedagogue. So Spruce McCoy vowed with Emmacetta Cassandra Bowdry that he would go West and find a fortune and come back to Kentucky for her. While the plans were maturing he was reading law and to while [away] idle hours when not making violent love to Emmacetta he played his violin with much dexterity. Perhaps he played it when he was making love. No doubt it was one of his modes of expression.

Then came the fateful news from Texas and soldiers were mustering in a dozen rendezvous in Kentucky for migration to the seat of war, and Spruce McCoy packed his chattels, not forgetting his fiddle, and was off to the West.

When he reached Texas he was a lawyer and after scout-

* A photostat of this article was submitted for publication by Judge Daniel H. Sadler, April 19, 1951, who wrote as follows: "At time of his death Mr. Wharton, the author, was member of the law firm printed below [Baker, Botts, Andrews & Parish, Esperson Building, Houston, Texas], to two of whose present members, Mr. Jesse Andrews and Mr. Brady Cole, both of Houston, I am indebted for this photostatic copy."

The article as composed by Mr. Wharton was really two articles written at different times with the later one written after additional information had been secured about Baird. I have condensed the two without changing Mr. Wharton's composition except for an occasional change in punctuation or minor change in sentence structure. The condensation tends to mar what could have been a smoother composition if Mr. Wharton could have undertaken the task. The photostat is now in the library, University of New Mexico. The first of the two articles was published in *The Dallas News*, May, 1939, according to a notation by Wharton. Ed.

ing about Woodville, San Augustine, and other towns he settled down at Nacodoches, the metropolis of East Texas—"the center of the surrounding country," as Judge Roberts called it a few years later. He was practicing law in Nacodoches in 1843, for Adolphus Stern observed in his diary of that date that he had employed S. M. Baird in a lawsuit.

The practice of law in Nacodoches a hundred years ago was not a quick way to accumulate a fortune and Spruce had his hands full earning enough to support himself and no surplus to enable him to go back for Emmacetta Cassandra who was waiting with great fidelity for the event when he, like Lochinvar, would come out of the West for her.

Then came the Mexican War and Spruce thought that perhaps he could improve his situation by joining the invasion, so he enlisted in a Texas company recruited by Captain (afterwards Governor) Wood and was off south of the border down Mexico way.

They say that in those romantic days "absence made the heart grow fonder" and when the absent one was a soldier fighting a treacherous foe on a far flung battle line romance reached high tide with the beautiful Bowdry maiden.

The call of the West lured Samuel Perrin Bowdry from his old Kentucky home and about the close of the Mexican war he moved with his chattels and his slaves to Northern Missouri where he established a plantation and a ranch.

It is evident that Spruce left his bride with her home-folks in Missouri while he went on to Santa Fe to execute his commission and stabilize the sovereignty of Texas over that remote region.

When Texas entered the Union in 1845, its boundaries were not fixed and remained unfixed until after the Mexican war. The State of Texas claimed all the country which the Republic of Texas claimed in the fanciful boundaries fixed by the First Congress in December, 1836. At the close of the Mexican war all the country west to the ocean was ceded to the United States by Mexico and the western boundaries of Texas came up for discussion.

The Texans knew that the United States would be slow to recognize our claim to all the outlying territory embraced

in these fanciful boundaries and with a thought that some kind of possession should be taken, some show of authority made over these far meridians, the Second Legislature of Texas passed an act creating Santa Fe County. It reached from the mouth of the Pecos at 30 to the forty-second parallel in Wyoming, 12 degrees latitude, more than 1,200 miles, and its area was more than 100,000 square miles.

But the new county must be organized and Governor Wood appointed Spruce M. Baird of Nacogdoches judge of Santa Fe county and instructed him to "repair forthwith" to the county seat at Santa Fe and set up sovereignty. A rare copy of the *Nacogdoches Times* of May 27, 1848, tells that he had just left for Santa Fe to take up his duties as judge of that newly created county.

So he was on his way out in May, 1848. The short route from Nacogdoches to Santa Fe was over 1,500 miles, was infested with Indians, and lay across vast deserts. So the county judge went around by New Orleans and St. Louis to reach the county seat.

On a May day, he took the stage to Nachitoches, La., then a steamboat down Red river and the Mississippi to New Orleans. There he took a river steamer to St. Louis and after a few weeks found a caravan of traders going out over the perilous Santa Fe trail and he got passage on a freighter's wagon more than 1,000 miles, and in November was in Santa Fe.

When he landed at the county seat his personal appearance was not the best. Traveling as supercargo on a Santa Fe Trail ox-wagon was not de luxe. He needed a bath, a shave, clean clothes, and other aids to appearance when he rolled off the wagon at the end of the trail in the crisp November air.

If he had been faultlessly dressed with top hat and cane, his task to impress these incredulous gentry of New Mexico with the dignity of his mission would have been hard enough, but when this unkempt, shabby-looking tramp told the bystanders he was Judge Baird, county judge of Santa Fe county, they did not understand him. He spoke in English

with an East Texas drawl and only Spanish was spoken or understood in Santa Fe.

After a bath and a shave he repaired to the lonely little United States army post which had been maintained since the war the year before, and which was the "government" of New Mexico.

The commander of the lonely little post was a very long, large looking colonel with the enormous name of Washington, and he made little effort to conceal his contempt for Judge Baird and his quixotic mission. When he was shown Baird's commission from Governor Wood of Texas, his conduct implied: "Who in the hell is Governor Wood, and where in the hell is Texas?"

The rebuffed Judge had recourse to that palladium of liberty, the press, and "repaired forthwith" to the adobe hut which was called the office of the *Santa Fe Republican*, the press of New Mexico. The press heard his story and issued forthwith a broadside advising Texas and the Texans to stay at home and attend to their own business, and advocating tar and feathers as a proper remedy for such pests as Judge Baird.

It did not add to his popularity when it was told that the Texas politicians were planning to vacate all Spanish land titles in New Mexico, and regrant the public domain to themselves.

The crisp air of November was followed by the snows of December, and the Judge's wardrobe, which was scant when he left Nacogdoches, was threadbare and, last but not least, he was broke. But he hung on, for he had nowhere else to go, and six months later was about to issue an election proclamation.

He wrote letters to Governor Wood which, strange to say, reached him in time.

Meanwhile, the Congress of the United States was debating the great boundary question, and Texas had far more friends in Washington than in Santa Fe.

What happened is a matter of well known history which I need not repeat. Texas sold its outlying meridians to the United States for \$10,000,000, drew in its lines and Judge

Baird was left high and dry and dead broke in Santa Fe. The State retreated, so to speak, without calling in its pickets, and the judge was left on picket duty.

After the collapse of his judicial career, which in fact never began, he had nothing left out of the wreck but the title of "Judge" which clung to him during all his troubled years. Among his papers Mrs. Hill¹ found a letter from Governor Bell of Texas, who had succeeded Governor Wood, suggesting that since he was unable to establish his authority in Santa Fe that he go down to El Paso and open his court, but he did not do so.

His wife joined him now and he had a house in Albuquerque and an office in Santa Fe and was a busy man.

Judge Baird stayed on, becoming a member of the first Santa Fe bar. Old dockets show his name and that he was connected with important and celebrated cases. Down in Valencia county he filed cause No. 1 in which he represented the Indian Pueblo in a suit to quiet title to its ancient water rights. He alleged that his Indian clients had used the water for irrigation for centuries and after years of court procedure a decree was rendered for the Pueblo.

In 1852 he was Indian agent for New Mexico and in that year Assistant Secretary of Interior Calhoun appointed "Major General S. M. Baird" special agent to the Navahos and sent him to Jemez (wherever that was).² As special agent to the Navahos he was allowed an interpreter and forage for two horses and his work was highly praised by Calhoun in his reports.

In 1854 he was attorney for Major Weightman in a most celebrated murder case which is written up in New Mexico history.

I saw a statement in an old archive that Baird was attorney general of New Mexico in 1860 and thought that it would be simple enough to trace him from there on.

Down at the state house [Santa Fe] no record could be found to confirm this and no one knew of or could find any

1. "His granddaughter, Mrs. Barbara B. Hill, of San Marino, California, busied herself and gathered much information for me [Wharton]."

2. A place well-known to New Mexicans. It is a pueblo in the Jemez mountains where the Navaho visited frequently for social and trade purposes, and occasionally for war. Ed.

list of those who had served as attorney general for the territory of New Mexico. The present attorney general had a gallery of his predecessors, but Judge Baird's picture was not in it.

Unable to confirm the rumor that he had been attorney general from the records at Santa Fe, I journeyed down to Albuquerque, where, with the aid of Dean Hammon[d], we found in the university archives two letters written and signed by S. M. Baird in which he tenders the governor his resignation as attorney general.

On July 12, 1860, he is at his ranch down below Albuquerque, and he writes: "Such is the hostility of the Mojaves³ that I cannot leave my ranch and comply with the law which requires the attorney general to live in Santa Fe." He asks that he be sent all his salary warrants up to date and passes from turmoil to the "peace of private life" among the hostile Mojave.

This meager information, his letter of resignation, is all that can be found of record in New Mexico bearing on his administration. All we can say is that there is not of record any stains or reflections upon his career as attorney general of the territory of New Mexico. We only know that he was appointed and held office from the fact that he resigned and drew his salary. It would be great if all official records were so blameless.

We leave him among the Mojaves, but not for long. His quiet retreat was soon to be invaded by war and rumors of war. Peace was not for him.

When the war began in 1861, a column of Texas soldiers, led by such patriots as Sibley, Baylor, Scurry and other immortals, found its way to New Mexico, which was strongly pro-Union, overran New Mexico and Arizona and for a time those far regions were under the rule of the Confederacy.

Those immortals found a suffering minority of Southern sympathizers who welcomed them and were quick to join them when the local repression was removed. Among these were Spruce M. Baird, who left his ranch in the Mojave[?]

3. This is an error. There were no Mohave Indians in the Albuquerque area. He probably means the Navaho. Ed.

desert and got a commission to raise a regiment of cavalry for the glorious cause of the long suffering South.

The Texas column had scarcely gotten settled down to the business of running the country when a column of California soldiers who were strong for the Union came across and the immortals were driven out and the flag of the fathers was again unfurled at Santa Fe.

Texans were never able to stay long in New Mexico.

A grand jury was forthwith convened and an indictment for high treason was found against some 40 persons who had given aid and comfort to the enemy during the Confederate invasion. The terrible document read: "That on March 4, 1862, and divers other days Spruce M. Baird, Rafael Arm[i]jo (and others) did with one Henry H. Sibley and divers other false traitors, conspire, imagine, and intend to stir up rebellion."

The "traitors" took to their heels but receivers were appointed for their properties who took charge of all the liquid assets of the offenders and reported to court that they had taken over \$57,000 in money and goods belonging to Armijo and \$260.04 from S. M. Baird.

As for Armijo, we can have little sympathy when we remember the wickedness of Governor Armijo to the Santa Fe expeditioners 20 years before, but this \$260.04 was probably a great loss to Judge Baird, who must have left Santa Fe in 1862 as naked as he came in 1848.

After having traced him up through high places I could not desert him now when he was under the shadow of indictment for very high treason, and his liquid estate sequestered, so I worked feverishly on to trace him through the troubled years to follow.

A faded undated newspaper clipping from a San Antonio paper told that Judge Baird of New Mexico had arrived from the West with his family and would cast his lot with the South.

Another told of the death of the daughter Agnes Aurora in March, 1863, in her seventh year, and they buried the little one in the hills above Bexar.

The February, 1864, *San Antonio Herald* told that Judge Baird made a speech of acceptance of a flag presented to his regiment.

Recruiting headquarters were moved to Austin and Colonel Baird and his family were there awhile in 1864.

Here is a faded circular issued from Austin, July 28, 1864:

RECRUITING HEADQUARTERS,
Frontier Expedition
Austin, July 28th, 1864.

ANOTHER BLAST OF THE BUGLE FOR MOUNTED
VOLUNTEERS!

Frontier-Men, Missourians, Arkansans, Refugees, and all Exempts are invited to give attention to this organization.

I am authorized by Gen. E. Kirby Smith, to raise Six New Companies in addition to my present Regiment, from the Frontier Counties, for operations on the frontier and the plains; and to form a part of the Light-Horse of the Plains, and the Frontier Expedition under my Command.

The field of operations will be the most desirable of the war, affording a wide scope for individual distinction. For explanations and particulars (not proper to be published) inquire of recruiting officers or at these Recruiting Headquarters.

Persons not enrolled, residing in the frontier counties, and all exempts will be received.

Recruits can report singly or in squads. Austin, where a recruiting camp is established; at Camp Slaughter, near Dallas, or at Fort Belknap as soon as supplies can be placed at that place.

Persons wishing to join this Company, will do so at once, as the Battalion is being rapidly filled up, and they may miss the opportunity of getting into a permanent mounted command for frontier service.

S. M. BAIRD,
Col. 4th Reg't Arizona Brigade,
Comd'g Frontier Expedition

He never succeeded in getting a full regiment and most of the time had only a company of mounted men which did service on the Northwest Texas frontier, at San Antonio, and sometimes on the Rio Grande.

The last glimpse of him is the "Special Order No. 8" of Jan. 9, 1865. I do not know that he ever got it or that he ever got to Nacogdoches.

Special Order No. 8

"Shreveport, La., Jan. 9, 1865.

"Col. S. M. Baird with the command will repair forthwith to Nacogdoches, Texas, and there report to Maj. Gen. John A. Wharton for duty.

"By Command of Gen. E. Kirby Smith.

"S. S. ANDERSON, Adj. Gen."

On November 1st, Special Order No. 17 told that the Frontier Expedition was at Camp McCulloch six miles above Waco.

Odd scraps of paper tell that during these hectic years the family was sometimes at Columbus, Texas, and for a time on a farm at Lancaster in Dallas county, that at the close of the War they were in desperate straits, penniless and fugitives.

Mrs. Hill has found his parole, signed 13 miles S. W. of Austin, Texas, in July, 1865.

The Judge said he saw no future for Texas with its white people disfranchised and negroes and Mexicans voting and decided to go back to the West. After awful experiences, hardships almost unendurable and pitiful privations, they found their way to Trinidad, Colorado, where the Judge opened a law office in 1867 and began to ride the circuit and practice law all over southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.

Many of the old Spanish land grants along the Rio Grande, old then, were owned by thriftless Mexican heirs. Their titles had been confirmed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the close of the Mexican War. They were selling out at bargains to Americans who were coming in. There was a rumor that if Texas held the country all these ancient

titles would be ignored and [the] land [would be] granted to these "Tejanos," and this encouraged the Mexican heirs to these vast arid acres to sell for what they could get.

Judge Baird came into this market [before the War] and, having somewhat improved his finances, bought a ranch and decided to combine it with his law practice.

There was a tract just below Albuquerque in Bernalillo county, fronting five or more miles on the Rio Grande; and one driving along the highway will be impressed that Judge Baird selected well when he bought these thirty odd thousand acres and built his ranch houses and began his career as a rancho ninety years ago.

It was bounded on the north by the lands of Antonio Sandoval, who had recently died, and on the south by the vast holdings of Juan Chaves and reached from the river back to the mountains. Anyone at any time would covet this fair landscape.

Although the land records had not been well kept, yet the heirs to these ancient acres had often preserved their title papers for more than a century and Judge Baird was able to locate and buy out the several Mexican heirs to these acres and did so, carefully preserving the papers.

He lived more than ten years on the ranch, which became well known as "El Rancho del Chino Tejano," and sometimes called the ranch of the Curly Texan; spent \$20,000 in improvements, including irrigation ditches.

Four children, two sons and two daughters, were born there. The daughters died young but the sons, Andrew Bowdry and James S., lived long lives and left children and grandchildren.

But why did he not go back to his beautiful ranch in Bernalillo? The fragmentary records which grand-daughter Hill has found answer this and tell a sad story of miscarried justice, a veritable chapter of accidents. They tell how the Federal government forfeited his land for his lifetime and sold it under a decree which provided that on his death the land would revert to his heirs, and when they came to claim it years later they were told it was his at the time the government took it from him.

In 1862 Congress passed a law providing for the forfeiture of title of the property of Rebels and in those states or territories where the Federal power remained supreme, as it did in New Mexico, the District Attorneys were diligent in finding property of those who were of the Rebel faith, and since the owner had usually fled to save his life, forfeiture proceedings were begun where the fugitive left property behind him. All that had been gotten from the Judge in the proceedings of which I found a record at Santa Fe was a small cash item of \$260.04, which was probably realized from the sale of personal property on the ranch. Let it not be supposed for an instant that these forfeitures of "rebel" property were an invention peculiar to the North. All through the South and specially in Texas there were forfeiture laws and Union sympathizers were often hanged by cowardly stay-at-home mobsters who took their property with covetous hands.

The Federal Forfeiture Act of 1862 provided for the escheat of lands of Rebels, but Mr. Lincoln had seen the act so modified that the forfeiture was for the lifetime and took only the life estate of the "traitor" and left the property to his heirs at law when he should die.

On October 6, 1862, the diligent District Attorney Wheaton instituted libel proceedings against the property of S. M. Baird, which is described in the bill filed in the District Court of the Third District of New Mexico as \$262.04 and a tract of land in Bernalil[l]o County known as Baird's Ranch.

Since the Federal act only provided for the forfeiture of the life estate in lands and judgment when rendered decreed a sale of all the ranch lands, the purchaser to take title during the life time of Baird, after which the lands would belong to his heirs.

The record shows that the Honorable Wheaton, District Attorney, proved that the ranch was the property of Judge S. M. Baird, that he had lived on it for years and had recently fled with the Rebels and was now in a disloyal state.

Whereupon a writ issued which was placed in the hands

of Abraham Cutler, Marshal of the United States for New Mexico, and he caused a levy to be made on Judge Baird's ranch and the life estate therein sold at the courthouse door in Albuquerque in October, 1863, and one Samuel Archer purchased same for \$1,350, and the Marshal then and there conveyed the ranch lands to Archer "during the life of him, the said Spruce M. Baird."

Thus the title stood when he died at Cimarron in 1872.

When he died the Archer title automatically ended and Mrs. Baird and her sons, then nearing manhood, were entitled to go into possession. They needed no papers, no writs, to put them in possession of the title which was theirs under the very terms of the decree against him.

After Baird's death his wife and sons continued to live at Golden [Colorado] and seem to have made but a feeble and futile effort to recover possession of the ranch. In his hurried escape from New Mexico when he went South with Sibley in 1862, he lost his title papers. Mrs. Baird employed a Congressman from Kentucky to advise her and he was unable to find the Baird title papers or any record of them in New Mexico. The old simpleton must not have read the court proceedings, for they declared the land was Baird's, and only sold the life estate. There was nothing to prevent the widow and children from going back onto the ranch when he died and their possessory title would have been sufficient against the United States and all persons claiming under the libel decree and deed. Only Spanish heirs back of Baird's purchase could have made any claim, which would have required the production of title papers, and proof of these could have been made by circumstances or would have been presumed to support long possession.

The land might have been claimed by the United States government as public domain on the ground that neither the Spanish or the Mexican or the Texas government had ever conveyed it to anyone, but as just suggested, proof of a grant could have been made by the documents or by evidence showing they had been lost. At least the United States could not have claimed the land against Baird's heirs under the

forfeiture decree in the procurement of which the Honorable Wheaton, District Attorney, had proven that the land belonged to Baird.

Nor should the United States have at any time, anywhere, in any court, have been permitted to prove it did not belong to Baird after having proven it did.

After the Kentucky Congressman had messed about for ten years, as Congressmen often do, the widow and her sons filed suit in a Federal Court of Claims to establish their title. Again their attorney acted the muttonhead. They should have gone down on the ranch and resumed possession as the forfeiture decree provided they might do and put on the government, or anyone disputing their title, the burden of proof.

But the boys were young and the good widow was poor and it was a long way from Golden [Colorado] down to Bernalil[1]o, and furthermore it was a wild country along the Rio Grande in those days, not good for widows and children.

In September, 1892, the widow and her sons filed suit in a Federal court to establish their title. She no doubt could have testified as to the missing title papers but six weeks later she died.

Andrew, the son, undertook to prosecute the suit and testimony was taken in 1895 and he told what he knew about the lost deeds. The Court rendered a decree which one reading after the lapse of years will conclude that the court was an ass.

The substance of the silly decree, copy of which is before me is—They did not have the records for some reason. The land was confiscated during the Civil War in a proceeding against traitors and a decree rendered at Albuquerque confiscating the land, "and it has been fussed over a great deal."

"Our court has no jurisdiction and there are a great many things which have come up which cause us to enter a decree rejecting the case."

An appeal should have been taken from this disgraceful decree, but the lawyer for the Bairds seems to have neglected to get up the record. His excuse was that the stenog-

rapher who took the evidence had gone and "took up his residence east without extending the stenographic notes." No appeal was taken and the matter seems to have remained dormant for another twenty years.

In 1910 Rucker, Congressman from Colorado, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to have the Baird title to the property confirmed by Congress, which never passed, and here the record before me ends.

In 1917 Wilbur F. Stone, who signed his name as Attorney General of Colorado, made a long rambling statement, evidently intended to aid in some way in a belated effort to recover the ranch. He tells much of his long acquaintance with Judge Baird; that he first saw him after he located in Trinidad, when Baird would be attending court at Pueblo; that he was a very stout man with curly hair and they called him the "Curly Texan"; that he had great ability and when he argued cases to the jury if there were Mexican jurors, as often was the case, he addressed the jurors in both languages.

Stone says: "We treveled [sic] together over the Southern Judicial District of Colorado attending courts wherever they were held. Sometimes we woul[d] go hundreds of miles, camping at night, judge, jurors, lawyers, witnesses and litigants."

Among his souvenirs, Mrs. Hill has a pair of elk horns to which is appended in Judge Baird's handwriting a card which reads: "These were picked up by S. M. Baird of the late 4th Arizona Regiment on August 18, 1867, on one of the highest peaks on the eastern slope of Rotan [Raton?] Mountains in Colorado and are entrusted to Colonel Riggs, S.A., to be forwarded with this card and Baird's compliments to Houston, Texas, to Colonel Ashbel Smith of 2nd Texas, with which he so gallantly defended his trench at the siege of Vicksburg, as a token of respect and regard for Colonel Smith . . . and as an evidence that Baird does not forget Texas in her darkest hour of adversity."

While living at Trinidad, Baird took an interest in the celebrated Maxwell land grant in northeastern New Mexico, which was then in litigation, and was at Cimarron attending court in connection with this litigation when he died.

His family had moved to Golden just north of Denver, where the boys were in school, and was living there when he passed away, and here Emmacetta Cassandra Baird died twenty years later.

Among the faded papers in an attic box was found a death certificate signed by Dr. Longwill, which recited, "the Honorable Judge Spruce M. Baird died at Cimarron, Cev-fox County, Colorado, this day, June 5, Wednesday, 1872, from fatty degeneration of the heart and congestion of the lungs."⁴

Another old document shows that on the next day eleven lawyers assembled in the office of Lawyer Thatcher, where Moses Hallet, Chief Justice of Colorado, presided, and Jack Houghton of Santa Fe was present, and they went through the verbose proceedings held on such occasions and passed resolutions aloud with eulogy for the departed.

4. I judge this quotation to be inaccurate, probably due to the difficulty of reading the original manuscript, described by the author as a "faded" paper. Dr. R. H. Longwill was a resident of Cimarron, New Mexico, in the 1870's. Furthermore, there is no county named Cevfox in Colorado or New Mexico. The document should read, . . . Cimarron, Colfax County, New Mexico. . . Ed.

ALBERT FRANKLIN BANTA: ARIZONA PIONEER

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

(Continued)

I let the newspaper affair go to the devil and went back to Tucson. This was in the fall of 1877. I dubbed about Tucson all winter; I and Johnny Hart¹³⁹ doing a little prospecting in the Santa Catalinas. The following spring of 1878, Hart and I again went into the Santa Catalinas prospecting; returning to Tucson we heard of the Tombstone¹⁴⁰ strike by Dick Gird, and the Shefflin [Schieffelin] Brothers. I proposed that we go to the new strike, but John said, "Nothing to it, we will go back to the Santa Catalinas." Returning to Tucson we got a room where we batched, John was a good cook. One day Hart proposed that we go down to Joe Newgass's restaurant and board there for a while. This we did for only a few days. One morning at breakfast I called for hot cakes; I happened to open one of the cakes and discovered two extra large cockroaches inside the cake. I called John's attention to it and remarked, I don't mind one cockroach to the cake but I surely draw the line on two cockroaches all in one hot cake. John immediately got up from the table saying we will go back to our batching again, I'll no more of this.

A few days afterward I met Charly Shibell,¹⁴¹ sheriff of Pima county, and he says, "Did you know Martin A.

139. I have no information on this acquaintance of Banta's.

140. The story of Tombstone has been dealt with by many writers. The latest is a compilation of material from the newspaper, *The Epitaph*, in Douglas D. Martin, *Tombstone's Epitaph* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1951) See also Stuart N. Lake, *Wyatt Earp, Frontier Marshall* (Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1931). Charles Leland Sonnichsen, *Billy King's Tombstone: the private life of an Arizona boom town* (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Id., 1942) An essay on Schieffelen can be read in Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, ch. 10. The name Shefflin in the text should read Schieffelen.

141. Charles A. Shibell was born in St. Louis, August 14, 1841. He arrived in Arizona with the California Volunteers during the Civil War in the capacity of teamster. In 1876 and 1878 he was elected Sheriff of Pima county. He then became proprietor of the Palace Hotel in Tucson. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona* (Chapman Publishing Company, Chicago, 1901) L. Vernon Briggs, *Arizona and New Mexico 1882 . . .*, p. 1 (Boston, 1932. Privately printed) Briggs arrived in Tucson in 1882.

Sweeny?" I said, "Of course I do, I know him well, Why?" He said that Sweeny had been killed at the Grand Central mine (Tombstone) by Jack Friday, and ask if I knew Friday, I did not personally but had heard of him. The Sheriff said, "I've had my deputies out and they have scoured the country over and can't get trace of Jack Friday; he has simply gone up in smoke." I says to the Sheriff, "Look here Charly, my experience with the average deputy sheriff or constable is, they don't know enough to pound sand into a rat hole; they can swagger around town, knock some drunken man over the head with a gun, drag him off to jail, and then think they have done the Grand, but put them out where they have to use a little brains—which they havn't got—they are simply a bunch of bone-heads." I will ask you one or two questions: "Has Jack Friday sold his interest in the Grand Central mine?" The Sheriff said no. I then said, "No trouble to find your man." "I've heard that sort of talk before," said the Sheriff. This made me a bit warm under the neck-tie, and getting up I said very emphatically, "If I don't find your man Mr. Shebell I will not charge you a single cent."

I immediately left Tucson, carrying extradition papers from Governor Safford on the Governor of Sonora, Mexico. My papers called for Oliver Boyer (Jack Friday), and two Mexican murderers. From Tucson I passed thru the Patagonia mountains, past the old Mowery [Mowry] mine and thence to the little Mexican town of Santa Cruz [Cruz] in the state of Sonora. Representing myself to be [a] prospector, I made inquiry if any American had passed that way in the past three or four weeks; that I had gone to Tucson to have some assays made and expected to meet my partner here. Nothing doing here, I went on down to San Lazaro, two leagues from Santa Cruz. At this place lived a Mexican—friend of Shibell's and to whom I carried a letter—named Ariego. Going to the house I inquired of his wife; she answered that Señor Ariego was then out after a load of poles, but would be back in a short while. He presently returned and I gave him my letter of introduction, in which the Sheriff had mentioned my business into Mexico. At dinner he and his wife compared notes, but did not remember

of any American or Americans having passed that way in the last few weeks. However, the wife spoke up and said in Spanish of course, "Don't you remember, about four weeks ago three men camped in that old adobe house a mile below here and one of them came up after something to eat, and you told him to go bring his companions and all could have to eat? and that the *cautivo* [captive?] and the small American came into the house, but the big man sat outside on a rock with gun across his knees and head in his hands and appeared to be sad?" I said please describe the big man; I knew at once I was on the trail, but instead of one I now had three men to trail. I asked which way they were headed for and was told Las Planches de la Plata. Here I had to do a little figuring. If Friday had sold his mine he was making for the Gulf port at Guaymas; if so, then my best course would be to go direct to Magdalena and swing around and if possible head him off or "cut his trail."

I took the Magdalena road and in crossing the river by that name came near being drowned. It was the month of July, '78; a cloud burst had occurred somewhere above; I heard the roar of the water and could see the river was rising fast so rushed in to get over before it got too deep. I had about reached the opposite bank when the water struck my horse and washed his hinder parts around, but he had gotten his fore-feet on the ground and by making a lunge we barely scrambled out of the raging flood. By the time I had gotten upon the bank and looked back the water was all of ten feet deep and rushing like a mill-race. A few miles further I came to a hacienda [hacienda] the property of Don Manuel Corea.

Riding up to the house I saw a man sitting out in front and said to him, after dismounting, "Take my horse and care for him." I supposed of course he was a Mexican peon, but instead of answering me he turned his head a[nd] called out, "Don Manuel, some one here to see you." To my surprise he spoke in English; at this time I did not know who were residing in the house. In about a minute a young man came out in his shirt sleeves, bare-headed with slippers upon his feet. He rushed up, shook hands, asked my name, where I was

going, ordered a peon to take care of my horse and invited me to take a seat under the veranda. All this was spoken in excellent English. Pretty soon a young lady appeared and the Don introduced me to his wife. She was an American from Los Angeles. I soon found out that Manuel had been educated in the States; had married in Los Angeles; was a member of the state senate of Sonora; that his residence was in Magdalena; that his widowed mother, brother Juakin [Joaquin], an unmarried sister and a younger sister were living here at the hacienda. Having a few very fine Tepic cegars with me, I asked Don Manuel to have a cegar; his wife was present at the time. With a peculiar expression on his face, which I saw, he declined saying, "I have given up the habit and do not smoke anymore." This struck me as strange as about ninety-nine per cent of the Mexican people smoke. He was very anxious to hear news from the outside world; had become Americanized in that respect; and, as he said, we have no newspapers down here, and never know a thing of what is going on in the world. Of course I gave him all I had heard up to the time of leaving Tucson; in the meantime he asked me into a room where I could wash off the dust, all the time keeping up a running fire of questions.

The next morning I was for going on but he would not hear of it at all, and insisted that I stay indefinitely; but of course I could not do this. He said, "My wife and I are going down to Magdalena day after tomorrow, you must stay that long and go down with us in the carriage." To this I agreed as he so much wished to have some one with whom he could talk that knew at least a little something outside of his circumscribed bailiwick. After breakfast he invited me to take a look at the garden and fruit trees. We walked about some and finally sat down under a fig-tree, pretty well down towards the lower end of the garden. After we had sat down I pulled out a cegar and remarked that I would now enjoy a good smoke. He watched me for a few seconds and then remarked, "Have you another one of those Tepics?" To this I replied, "Of course I have, and am only sorry that I cannot offer you one, now that you have foregone that luxury." With a rueful expression he says, "Oh, come now, cut

out all that rotten stuff, you know I'm simply dying for a smoke." We sat there and smoked a couple of cegars each.

The day for our departure for Magdalena had arrived, the family carriage was brought out and Don Manuel, his wife and his little sister and myself took our places in the conveyance. In those days, prior to the coming in of General Porfirio Diaz, the country was overrun with bandits, from one end to the other of Mexico, and one dare not travel anywhere without being prepared for a fight. A peon led my horse and was armed with a gun; three other men road along on horses, all armed with rifles and pistols, one in advance and the other two, one upon either side of the carriage. In this manner we traveled to Magdalena which place we reached about midnight. Driving up to the san jon [wagon?] entrance a peon was there to let down the chain and heavy bar, and we drove into the court. The Don's house was like all Spanish built houses; the front windows were covered with iron bars; at the rear of the building was an large garden full of fruit trees, grapes, flowers and vegetables. The adobe walls around the garden were six or more feet high and the tops covered with broken glass bottles. It was perhaps the most beautiful place in the city.

Calling upon the Prefect and stating my business, that functionary had his clerk look over his books for four weeks back to see if any such party as I had described had passed thru his jurisdiction. In this connection I will say that Mexico follows the European custom of checks upon all people going and coming; by this method it is easy to trace a party to any part of the country. If one takes a conveyance at a hotel, say the City of Mexico, and orders the driver to take him to the railway depot, but after going away gives orders to the driver to go elsewhere, it is the duty of that driver to inform the first policeman or other officer of that change. No chance for any monkey business there; if you go to the depot all well and good, but if you go elsewhere, that "elsewhere" must be known to the authorities. The system is good in my opinion. The Prefect informed me that no such persons had been thru, else he would have had them on his books.

I pulled out for a little place some few miles below on the Magdalena river. Stopping at the best house I saw in Santa Clara, for that was the name of the place, I road up and seeing a peon ordered him to take my animal, unsaddle it, put the saddle in the shade, water the horse and put it where it could get some feed. This he did without a word. Traveling in Mexico it was my custom to put up at the best house in sight, taking for granted the proprietors were better able to furnish me and horse with entertainment, for the simple reason no charge would be made; this of course applies to all sections outside of towns. They will not accept pay and are inclined to resent any such offers as an insult to their hospitality. In this respect there are no better people in the world than are the Mexicans and the Pueblo Indians. Having lived four fifths of my life among them I feel that I can speak by the card in this matter.

I lay down in the shade of the house and smoked my pipe; presently two young ladies came to the door, it being open, and in Spanish asked if I would please come in and see what was the matter with the sewing machine; the man in here don't seem to know. I replied that I knew nothing about sewing machines, if I did would be pleased to look at it. "What!, are you not an American?" I replied that I was but did not know the least thing about a sewing machine. They seemed to doubt my ignorance of the machine, and one said in soto voice [*sotto voce*]: "Quizas sabes pero no quieres."¹⁴² I said, "No senorita, I am telling the truth." However, I arose and went into the room and there found an American tinkering under the machine. I said to him, "What the devil are you doing there?" Nothing, I don't know anything about the thing, but it is not so hot in here as out in the harvest field running a reaping machine. I told the girls the fellow knew nothing about the matter and it was useless for him to tinker with it as he might ruin it. They agreed and told him to quit. This was between 10 and 11 o'clock in the forenoon and about time for all hands to quit work on account of the intense heat.

Pretty soon the *haciandero* [*hacendero*—a rancher], the

142. Quizas sabes pero no quieres: perhaps you know but do not want to.

father of the girls, came in from the fields, and shaking hands bid me welcome to stay as long as I cared to. He was very light complected and of course was one of the better class of Mexicans. After dinner all took *siestas*, as was the custom in that country; that is all went to sleep until three or four o'clock in the afternoon. Between three and four o'clock the laborers went to their work again; this applied to peons as well as all others. I had my horse saddled up and prepared to continue my journey, but the *haciandero* insisted upon me remaining over for a few days at least. To this I could not agree as my business was urgent and I must push on.

Bidding all goodby, I hit the road that ran down the valley of the Magdalena river. Sometime in the night I turned out of the road and lay down under a mesquite tree and went to sleep, there being no houses in sight. The next morning was Sunday and after a few miles I came to another hacienda. As I approached the place I saw a large man in his shirt-sleeves and straw hat with an American bucket in his hand going down to the river after water. The sight was unusual and I wondered what it meant. Going up we saluted each other and I noticed he had come out of an old tumbled down adobe house, and seeing a much better house a little way beyond I went to it but found no one there; turning my head I looked back and saw the man with the bucket entering the hut. My curiosity getting the better of me I resolved to return and see what the unusual sight meant. He was of the better class of course, that was plainly to be seen. Riding up to the door he bade me dismount, ordered a boy to take care of my horse and asked me to enter the room.

Here I saw a table with writing materials, several books, and a few ore specimens lying upon it. At one end of the room was a library of books, all of which mystified me more than ever; I noticed too that the books had French bindings. Breakfast is never a very early meal in Mexico, and in Central America and Panama, also other tropical countries, it is never taken before 11 o'clock a. m. However, a cup of coffee or chocolate is usually taken in bed, or soon after aris-

ng, and this must suffice until breakfast at eleven o'clock. Here the *tortillera*¹⁴³ came in and announced that breakfast was ready. Going into another similar to the one we left was a long table set with plates for ten or more people. My host took the head and bade me sit at his right; and at once began making excuses for the meager fare, but said, "I am building a new house on the hill nearby, and the next time I have the honor to entertain you, will be better prepared to do so." Greatly to my further surprise on picking up a fork I found it to be solid silver, and the spoons were of the same metal. Mentally I said to myself, "Who the devil can this fellow be." After breakfast we returned to the other room and smoked a cegar. Here we talked politics, railroads, agriculture, etc., etc. I found that my host had traveled over Europe, spoke German and French but not a word of English. From this point I intended to cut across the high table lands lying between the Magdalena and Altar rivers, and possibly strike the trail of the fugitive. I determined that before going I would ask the name of my intelligent host. I did so and was informed that, "I am called Pancho Serna."

Knowing that General Serna¹⁴⁴ was then Governor of the State of Sonora, and to whom I carried extradition papers, I said, "Are you a brother of General Serna?" He answered that he was General Serna, so I at once made my business known to him. The General took the papers and sat down at the table and examined them; and, altho not at the capital of the state, which was Ures at that time, he approved them at once; furthermore, he wrote a personal letter to the Prefect at Altar, to use every endeavor to capture the fugitive, and to send him in irons to the international line, in charge of the Rurales, and there they should turn over the prisoner to my custody. Don Francisco Serna was a gentleman in every respect, and invited [me] to return to the state and call upon him at the capitol; that he would be happy to see me again, and would do me any favors possible to do. I had already told him of the little episode at Santa

143. He means the person (a woman) who made the *tortilla*, a thin wafer-like food made of corn and water and cooked like a pancake.

144. See Note 6.

Clara, and was told that the *haciendero* there was his brother-in-law.

My papers being approved by the Governor, and armed with a strong letter to the Prefect at Altar—Don Luis Redondo—I bid the Governor *adios* [goodby] and started for the city of Altar. While crossing the high table-lands en route, a heavy rainstorm came on and the road was a foot deep with water, but not a drop fell upon me and the sun was shining brightly; the heavy rain kept in advance of me perhaps a quarter of a mile, where I could see it falling in torrents but not a drop fell upon me. This sort of phenomenon is peculiar to the Southwest and is frequently seen in Arizon[a]. It was here also that I heard the whistle of a Bob White; I pulled my horse to listen, it was the first time I heard that whistle since leaving the state of Wisconsin, and it recalled my boyhood days back in the Badger state. That night I slept under a Palo Verde tree in a drizzling rain, not knowing how far I was from Altar, as I had never been in that section.

The following day early I reached Altar and seeing a house with a corral back of it, asked the proprietor if I could put my horse in his corral. He opened the front door of his house and told me to bring in my horse. There was no outlet to the corral save thru the house; this is done as a precaution from thieves. Of course the corral had a high adobe wall all around and was an adjunct to the building. There was one restaurant in the town and as it was noon I went there to get my breakfast, having eaten nothing since leaving the Governor's hacienda at Yrutiaba the morning before. The Prefect, Colonel Torres¹⁴⁵ commanding the Rurales, an American named Hamilton, and several other Mexicans took their meals at this restaurant. A tall dignified sandy complected Mexican took the head of the table and the Colonel at the foot; I sat near the head next to the tall man and young Hamilton sat opposite me. After all had been seated I asked Hamilton if he was acquainted with [the] Prefect. He said allow me to introduce you to Don Luis Redondo, the

145. Possibly Colonel Don Lorenzo Torres, mentioned in Corral, *El General Ignacio Presqueira*; see Note 6.

Prefect of Altar; and I was introduced to the tall gentleman at the head of the table; he also introduced me to Colonel Torres and the others. Of course I at once handed my papers to the Prefect, who glanced at the addresses and laid them beside his plate.

After we had eaten the Prefect invited me to his office; there he opened the papers and we talked the matter over. He turned to his clerk and had him look over his books for three weeks back; this the clerk did and said, "I find no record of such parties." He then said to me, "What do you think about it?" Replying I said, "It is evident the party has not passed south for Guaymas, and he must be somewhere above here." "It must be," said the Prefect, "I am certain he has not passed thru the district of Altar, else a record of it would be on those books there." In my conversation with Don Luis he asked if I was acquainted with Jose Redondo at Yuma, and I said that I knew him well. "He is my brother," said the Prefect. The Governor's letter being a pusher, Don Luis did all he could by writing official letters to each and every *Presidente* [a local official] of the several small villages along the river as far as the boundary line, in which he ordered them to arrest the party and send them in irons to Altar, if such party was found in their jurisdiction.

Armed with these additional letters I started up the Altar river, making inquiry at each place. At Tubitama [Tubutama] I asked the *Presidente* if any Americans had been there in the past three or four weeks. He said no one had been there. I put up with the *Presidente* that night and the following morning started for Sarica [Saric], a town about twenty miles further up. Along the valley of the Altar river the semi-tropical growth is so thick it is almost impossible to leave the road without cutting your way out. The town of Tubitama is situate on a mesa and close to the river; the road to Sarica led straight out from town and could be seen for half a mile, then it suddenly turned at right angles and then could not be seen any more owing to the timber, vines, brush and thick undergrowth.

Before I had reached the turn in the road I heard a low call, and looking back without stopping my horse, I saw a

Mexican with his hand in front of his body, making a motion with his hand. I knew at once it was a secret matter so never let on but kept going until I made the turn in the road out of sight of the town, when I pulled up and waited for the man to come up. Coming up the man put his hand upon my leg and said, "The *Presidente* lied to you, that on San Pedro's day two Americans and a *cautivo* (one that has been capture[d] and raised by the Apaches) had been there. Of course he lied to me, they all do it. He told me the men I was looking for were at Sarica, and stopping with a blacksmith named Romero. I thanked him for the information and gave him a dollar for his trouble. Here was an instance where a man was afraid to tell the truth, Why!

Arriving at Sarica I went to the house of "Coal-yard Bill," an American living there and who was married to a Mexican woman. I knew that Don Guillermo (Coal-yard) [Bill] lived in Sarica as I had met him there in the summer of 1872. In the yard I saw a sandy complected fellow and taking him for a peon, being dressed like one with a pair of sandles, a chip hat and pants made of manta (sheeting), I ordered him to take care of my horse, to water him and then tie to a fig tree in the shade. He did so without a word, and while complying with my orders I sat down in the shade and lit my pipe.

Pretty soon he came up and said in good English, "Well, where are you going and from whence did you come?" To say I was astonished is putting it mildly. "What! are you white," I exclaimed, "Then why in the name of the Great Horn Spoon didn't you say so?" He laughed and said it made no difference to him as he looked it and [might] just as well be it. Then he told me that he had been caught smuggling and lost all he had even to the clothes he had on at the time; that others had given him the togs he then had on; but it made no difference, the first time he succeeded in eluding the Rurales he would more than even up, so he took the matter philosophically. I asked the fellow if he knew Romero the blacksmith, and if any Americans were stopping with him. He said yes and that two Americans and a *cautivo* were there. I then said my horse has lost a shoe; that

I was en route to the Planches de Plata, and requested that he accompany me to the shop and do some interpreting for me. It was late in the evening when we went to the shop. The house was like most Mexican houses, twice the length of the width, with a door in the middle front and another on the opposite [side] of the building. At one end was the blacksmithing outfit and at the other the family cuisine.

As I stepped to the door all were at supper; the family sitting upon the floor near the fireplace; at the opposite side of the room in the corner were two men, one large and the other rather small; both were Americans, but neither looked around when I told the fellow with me to ask the blacksmith if he could put a shoe on my horse in the morning. Neither of the two whites spoke but appeared to be whispering, and seeing they were suspicious I turned my back towards them and continued to talk horseshoeing. Before leaving, however, I thought to have another look at my men, glancing quickly back I saw they were gone. I then knew to certainty the big fellow was my quarry. Returning to the house I waited until it was quite dark before going to see the *Presidente*.

Going to the *Presidente's* house, I found him to be a big burly, black villinous looking fellow, and a gunsmith by trade. Handing him the Prefect's letter, he read it over very carefully and then said where is your man; I said at the blacksmith's house; also told him of the actions of the two men; that it was the big man I wanted and not the little man. "All right, I see they are suspicious of you; leave your handcuffs with me, and as you have said that you were going to the Planches de Plata, it is best that you go away for a day, and when you have left they will return to town." All this was fare enough on its face, but the rascal had a card up his sleeve, which will develop itself further along.

Leaving the matter in the hands of the *Presidente*, I returned to "Coal-yard's" house for the night. The next morning had the [shoe] put on horse, but did not see my party. The blacksmith was quite inquisitive as to where I was going. I said Planches de Plata was my present destination; that I had been down to Altar to denounce some

mining claims; that my partners were over at the Planches, and much more to same effect. Of course I was lying like a dog but, acting upon the principle that the end justified the means, I diplomatically lied to the best of my ability. Saddling up I went to the little *cantina* and treated all the rounders to mescal, and then ostentatiously asked to be shown the road to the Planches.

I must here return back to Altar and say a few words about that restaurant; this narrative would be absolutely incomplete without that restaurant—it was a peach. The floor was of cobblestones and a quantity of water had been poured upon it leaving little pools in the cavities between the stones. An old couple run the outfit. He waited upon the table and the old woman did the cooking. The old fellow was between fifty and sixty years of age; typical Sancho Panza of Don Quijote de la Mancha; and the old woman, well, the Doncea [Dulcinea] del Tobosa was a nymph in comparison. The weather was extremely hot; he was bare-headed and barefooted, with not a stitch on but a pair of pants made of manta, and these were rolled up above the knees. His paunch was so large it was necessary to fasten his light cotton pants below and under his immense paunch. The perspiration dript off that paunch like water from the eaves of a house. In waiting upon the table, this immense paunch was the first thing visible as he pushed it in between people at the table. It would not have been so awfully awful, if he had had a shirt on his body. It really was the sight of my life, and I suppose nothing like ever was seen anywhere else on earth. However, as no one else about the table appeared to see anything incongruous or *outré* [far fetched] in the matter, I did not either. When in Rome do as the Romans do and follow suit. But the r[em]embrance of that restaurant and its proprietors shall stay with me to the end of time, and then some. And be remembered, this restaurant was the one and only—the Delmonico so to speak—in the city of Altar, containing a population of four or five thousand people. It sure was a peach and no mistake. Sic.

I followed this road [leading to the Planches de Plata]

four or five miles then cut across lots aiming to strike the river a few miles below Sarica. Reaching the river I followed up towards the town looking for a place to lay by. Finally, I saw a Mexican *jacal* inside of a small field, perhaps two hundred yards from the road. Going in I found a Mexican, wife, and three year old child were the occupants of the *jacal*. I asked if he could conceal my horse where it could not be seen, and that I too wanted to remain in hiding. He said, "Good, good, I can do it." I remained there that night and the following day, so as to give the *Presidente* ample time to accomplish his promised work. During the day at the *jacal* that little three year old would run in and tell her mother, if she saw anyone on the road, "*Hay viene gente mama,*"¹⁴⁶ with all the mystery and caution of a grown up person. They were ready and anxious to hide a refugee and supposed criminal from the authorities, and it seems to be *la mera cosa de la su gloria* to do this thing. About dark I asked for my horse, and offered to pay for the trouble I had caused them, but they refused to accept anything; however, I gave the baby a silver dollar, but they were for refusing to allow it to take the money, but I insisted on doing so saying, "I give to the baby for *dulces* [sweets] and not to you." They were very anxious to know where I was going, and when I said, "To town," were very much surprised, and the man says, "Why the authorities are there." I replied that I wanted to see the "authorities." Both looked incredulous and the fellow actually followed me until I had almost reached the town. The whole thing was beyond their comprehension. Going directly to the *Presidente's* house I asked if he had attended to the business. "No," says he, "but I will at once." Of course I was disgusted, and went immediately to the house of "Coal-yard Bill." Here they told me that the *Presidente*, Friday and the whole bunch had been on a drunk together; that the *Presidente* had told the fugitive and everybody my mission to the country, which of course was the first time any of them had heard why I came there. Now I was boiling over with rage at the duplicity of the official.

146. Here come people, Mama. The next Spanish quotation in the text can be translated: a mere matter of glory (implying that they expected no tangible reward for their action)

The next morning I called on the *Presidente* and demanded back all my papers and the handcuffs, and then gave the black hound a piece of my mind, calling everything I could lay tongue to. He was very indignant and said he did not mind what I had said about him personally, but I had insulted the great government he represented. I replied a dog represent[s] nothing and turned upon my heels and left him. Returning to Bill's house I was telling my troubles, when an officer of the Rurales came and took me into custody. That black devil had framed up a job to have me murdered, but I know the Mexican so well that I almost know of what they are thinking.

Right here I will say a few words about Mexican methods. If arrested, never try to escape no matter how many opportunities are left (purposely) open for you; tho put in jail and the door left open, never step outside of that jail door, for as sure as the sun shine[s] you will be shot down—*ley fuga* [fleeing the law]. There are times, however, when they will murder a prisoner even tho he makes no attempt to escape, and then lie about the attempt.

The jail was a small affair, having an iron door, also a light wooden one. I was put in and only the wooden door closed. At once I was on the scheme and sat down, of course I could have walked out and be shot, but did not do so. The door really was not a door but was one of slats thru which I could see, the slats being four or five inches apart. Pretty soon I caught sight of my smuggler friend, making all sorts of frantic signs to me, which I understood was not to come out. Of course I was on all right and made signs to that effect. I had been in jail perhaps two hours when the chief of police came to the door and pushed it open with his foot. He spoke very good English, and as he came in said, "Why, the door was not fastened, you could have gone out." I replied, "Yes, but I didn't intend to go out." He says it is well that you did not, as two sentries were posted not far away to prevent an escape. I began again to talk mean about the *Presidente*, but the chief of police, as we walked along together, advised me to say no more, "We all know," says he, "that he is a black scoundrel, but he is the

boss here, wait until you catch him across the line then go for the d——d thief.”

Like most places this town was divided into two factions, and the chief of police belonged to the opposite faction to that of the *Presidente*, and [that] is why he talked as he did. He went with me all the way to Bill's house. We now held a war council, the chief of police taking part. To wind up I was advised to turn my papers over to parties of the opposing faction. I gave papers to a middle aged man with three grown sons; all were sandy complected and fairly white. Of course they advised me to go through the same program as in the first instance.

However, I decided to act a little different this time. The next morning I road up to the little saloon and bought a few cigars, called the bunch up to have a drink of mescal, and then gave out that I was now going direct to Tucson; my object had failed and I could do nothing further. A fellow named Johnson—he was the small man with Friday, a murderer from California and a refugee—was nearby and he heard my remarks about going to Tucson. This fellow was a cunning scoundrel and was the main cause of most of my trouble. At this time I carried a Wells Fargo Messinger gun—a double-barreled shot gun cut off; also my trusty six-shooter. As I turned to go away, calling back to the Mexicans *adios* [goodby], Johnson stooped me and said, “You are going to Tucson; just as well, we know what you are here for, the *Presidente* told us; however, Jack says if you will agree to report in Tucson that he (Jack) is not to be found in Sonora, he will give you \$500; that your report will settle [the] matter and Jack will have no further trouble.” I said, “Yes, and assassinate me or try to and get the money back again. You haven't got money enough [to] hire me to do that.” Johnson was armed with a six-shooter, but was on my left side and my sawed-off gun was always ready for action, pointed in his direction. “All right, do you need a little money for the road, if you do I can let you have it; where did you say you'd camp tonight?” I said, “At the Busane, how many times more do you want to know; I've

told you [a] half dozen times already." "So long, at the Busane, eh?"

The Busane was some miles above Sarica, but no one lived there or near it. Of course I had no notion of going to the Busane, but he was sure that was my next stopping place. Two miles above Sarica, a quarter of a mile off the main road, lived Jim Walters; he owned a little grist-mill. Turning in here I told Jim to put my horse where he could not be seen from the road, and that I wanted to hide somewhere. He said go up stairs and no one will know you are here as I will caution my people to say nothing. It was now late in the evening, and pretty soon three Mexicans on horseback, with bottles of mescal in their hands, came charging over to the house and wanted to know if they had seen an American pass up the road. They were informed that someone had gone up on horse-back, but they could not see who it might have been. "We are after that fellow," and away they went. Johnson had sent them to murder me while I slept, but I fooled the scoundrel again.

After the assassins had left I asked Walters if he had a man I could depend upon to do some work; he said yes, and sent up a most villanous looking fellow to be seen; I asked the fellow if he knew the two Americans and the *cautivo*; he said, "Yes, they stop with Romero, I know where all three sleep outside the house." I told him to go down to-night and watch those fellows; that I didn't want them to get away without me knowing it; that I would give him a dollar for his trouble. In that country and at that time a dollar was a lot of money to the lower class of Mexicans. He said, "I know a better way and will save much trouble. For *five dollars* I will take an axe and split their skulls open, it is no trouble to do it, they lay along side by side." And he went thru the pantomime of chopping their heads open with an axe. This horrified me and I said no, not that, simply watch them that they do not get the start of me, that's all I want you to do. He seemed put out at my refusal and thinking I was haggling at the price, he offered to murder the three men for *two dollars and fifty cents*.

This is the truth if I ever told the truth in my life; that

fellow would have gladly killed those people for that insignificant sum. He was what are know in Spanish-America, a "bravo" or professional murder. I refused to have the men killed off, even for that small sum, and he went away in a disgruntled manner. I says to Jim after the fellow had left, "For God's sake Jim, what sort of a fellow have you here, and then told him the fellow's proposition to me." Jim merely shrugged his shoulders and said, "Oh, well, he will do as he agrees to." "My honorable (?) watcher" returned in the morning and reported all right, at the same time saying how easy it would have been to chop off their heads while they slept. Still had murder in his head. I gave him the promised dollar.

To give these people ample time I resolved to lay over another day with Walters, and that night again sent the "devil" down to watch. This time he had not gone long when he returned and reported the parties had fled. It seems that on his way down he heard horsemen coming up the road, naturally suspicious he pushed the brush aside and concealed himself, and they passed within a few feet of him; with a pantomime movement he said, "If I had had a lance I could have killed one as they passed me." Immediately I had my horse and rushed down to town to see my people and find out why they had not arrested the fugitive.

It was now quite dark and a rain had set in. Going to the house I asked if they had done anything, and was informed that nothing had been done yet, but they were going to attend to the matter right away. I told them the parties had left, two on one horse and one on another. They seemed surprised and said, "We'll go and see the *Presidente* at once." The *Presidente* received us rather cooly, and after the matter had been thrashed out plenty, finally gave them permission to go, but to be "very careful not to go beyond his jurisdiction." Returning to the house, it was now raining in torrents, and I had on a light linen duster, and sat there in that downpour until two o'clock in the morning, waiting for those people to come out and start on the pursuit. To be sure I could have gone into the house out of the rain, but supposing each minute they would be off I did not go in.

Subsequent events proved that all these delays were premeditated and were for a purpose, but depending upon their good intentions I was grossly deceived. Jack Friday owned an interest in the Grand Central mine for which Captain Whitesides¹⁴⁷ of Camp Huachuca,¹⁴⁸ had offered \$5,000, but Jack wanted \$10,000, and had refused to sell. They had arranged to return to Huachuca and sell; all those Mexicans were in with the play; hence the delays and other obstacles thrown in my way. All this I was totally ignorant of at the time.

Finally we got off after the fugitives. When leaving Jim Walters' place a colt had followed me down town. Before we had reached Jim's place we met a man on horseback coming on as fast as his horse could run. My Mexicans halted him and they talked a bit and the fellow went on towards town. I asked the old man who the fellow was and his object in going to town at this time of night. "O, he lives just above here and is going to town after some meat." I said, "Nonsense, he may be going after meat but he has some connection with the party we are after."

At this time we had reached the lane to Walters' place, I said to the Mexicans that I would put the colt in the corral and return; that when that Mexican returned to be sure and not let him pass, as he would go to the parties and inform them we were on the trail. To this they agreed, and I took the colt over, but as I was nearing my party I heard the clatter of horse's feet on the hard road ahead of my party. Coming up I said who had gone by and was told it was the man with the meat. He had not lied as he had meat with him. I was furious but powerless; I says to the old man that fellow is not going home but to those people we are after. This they would not, or pretended not, to believe.

At this moment a dog barked and the old man says, "Now he has reached his house, that was his dog." I said to the old fellow I'll bet my horse against a nickle he does not stop

147. I do not find Whitesides listed in Heitman, *Register*, or in Orton, *Records*.

148. This was a temporary post in the Huachuca mountains to protect the new mining interests, especially in Tombstone. Hinton, *Handbook*, p. 312. But it was not so temporary after all; the old fort was the site of military training in World War II. Wyllys, *Arizona*, p. 356.

at his house. The fellow never stopt until he came to where the three fugitives had camped for the night. He gave them warning we were on their trail and they got up and started off again. In the meantime, my Mexican found a place where they were sure the party must be camped. I tried to argue with them to the contrary, but it done no good and we stay[ed] there all night. Next morning I found the trail leading off up a canon and we followed it almost to Huachuca. With the aid of the *cautivo*, the fugitives could travel at night as the fellow knew the country, but we were obliged to lay over.

After we had crossed the boundary line into Arizona, my Mexs being ignorant of the fact, yet were all the time a bit suspicious, and finally we struck a plain wagon road, and their suspicions were confirmed. They were frightened and immediately turned about to hasten back into Sonora. However, I persuaded them to cut quartering back so as to cut any trail that might lead out of Camp Huachuca. That evening we cut a trail, but the animals were all shod and as the party we were following had barefooted animals, my Mexs declared it was not the party we were following. I knew better and we will follow these shod tracks, and we did so.

We were now north of the Patagonia mountains and going south towards the mountains. About noon of the second day after our about march, we run into their camp. They had camped half a mile north of the old Mowry mine.¹⁴⁹ Johnson had gone to the mine for grub, the *cautivo* was out with the animals and Jack was in camp alone. Seeing us, he made a leap for his rifle which was standing against a big pine, but my Mexicans had charged and had their rifles upon him; he at once threw up his hands and sur-

149. This old mine, discovered by Mexicans in 1857, was purchased by Sylvester Mowry who played a prominent part in the early history of Arizona. He arrived as an army Lieutenant in 1855. During the Civil War he was arrested by General Carleton as a Southern sympathizer and taken to San Francisco. He was released without trial, went to London to sell the mine and died in poverty. Hodge, *Arizona*, pp. 126ff. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:349. The correspondence relative to his arrest is published in Orton, *Records*, pp. 52ff.

An early booster for Arizona, Mowry published *Arizona and Sonora: the geography, history, and resources of the Silver Region of North America*. (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1866. 3rd edition)

rendered. I now told the Mexicans as we were in Arizona I would take charge of the prisoner. To this they said, "No, we are in Sonora and will take charge." I said the Mowery mine was in Arizona and it was still north [south?] of us, it stands to reason we are in Arizona. It did no good and all I could do was to follow along until we again reached Sarica.

I now determined to go on down to Altar and report the matter to the Prefect, being thoroughly convinced that my Mexicans had proved treacherous in the whole matter. I did so and the Prefect was very angry and said he would punish the whole lot of them. He said he would send the Rurales soldiers up as soon as he could. I started back to Sarica but before I had reached the town, perhaps five miles below, a shot came from the brush and my horse lunged forward. I reached Sarica before he died. In a few days the soldiers came and arrested the *Presidente* and the Mexicans that had been with me, and took them to Altar. I was for going down and testify against them, but Walters, my smuggling friend, and "Coal-yard Bill" said it would never do; that I would be killed sure; that I was playing luck that I was not already killed. So I decided not to go. The bunch were kept in jail a few days and were released and all returned to Sarica.

Jack had sold his claim to Whitesides for two thousand and five hundred dollars. He gave two hundred of it to the *Presidente*; to the *cautivo* \$200, and to each of my Mexicans \$300. Johnson got \$500 or more and in fact about all the Mexicans in the town were in on the "divy." Both Jack and Johnson laughed at me [and] said, "You see it is all off with you here; all are our friends and you cannot do a thing." Jack said, "Nothing small about me, if you want five hundred or such a matter I am ready to give it to you." Knowing what was soon to come I determined to stay with the pot and see it out.

They kept bleeding Jack until his money was gone, and when no more money was to be had from him, those treacherous devils arrested him and took him to Altar and turned him over to the Prefect. Thus making themselves solid with

that officer, but did not tell him they had bled Jack to death before doing so. To say Jack was mad is putting [it] mildly; he cursed the whole bunch from *Presidente* down. He said to me I have been a fool all the way thru in this thing; had I gone with you at first I now would have money to fight my case, but as it is I havn't a dollar left me, and must have some jim crow lawyer to defend me in court. He got twenty-five years; there were some extenuating circumstances; Sweeny was known to be a tough character, although I knew he never used a shooting iron; he lacked nerve. He was one of those prize-fighting plugs, all of whom are yellow-bellied.

Suffice to say I road abo[u]t 900 miles on that trip; had one horse shot; missed being assassinated three or more times, but I am here yet telling the story. As to the two Mexican murderers, I found them too, but the *Presidente* said they were Mexican citizens, and as such must be tried by the Mexican courts. It was us[e]less to fool time away with them.

I returned to Tucson in September, and soon thereafter H. S. Stevens, being then a candidate for re-election to Congress, asked me if I would not go up into the eastern end of Yavapai county and look after his interests in the campaign. This would take [me] back again to the Little Colorado at St. Johns, Springerville and other points. Leaving Tucson I went to (old) Camp Grant; thence over the Apache trail leading up the Arivaipai canon and on to Camp Apache and the Little Colorado.

The campaign of 1878 was a hot one; the candidates were H. S. Stevens, King S. Woolsey¹⁵⁰ and John G. Campbell.¹⁵¹

150. King S. Woolsey was an outstanding pioneer: politician, rancher, and Indian fighter. He died at the early age of 47 on June 29, 1879. A biographical sketch is in Farish, *Arizona*, 2:215-226. He is referred to as "Arizona's most prominent citizen," in the *Phoenix Herald*, July 2, 1879, quoted in Farish, 2:225. "One of the most famous citizens in the annals of Arizona's history." Barney, *Manuscript*, 2:28. The 1st Legislative Assembly passed a concurrent resolution in appreciation of his service as leader of expeditions against the Indians. *Acts and Resolutions* p. 69 (Prescott, 1865) One of his expeditions is recorded in F. A. Cook, "Diary," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 24:95-120. His name appears often in Farish, *Arizona*.

151. John G. Campbell was born in Glasgow, Scotland, June 27, 1827. He arrived in the United States in 1841, traveled to California by way of northern Mexico in 1849, arrived in Arizona in 1863, and settled near Prescott in 1864. He was Territorial Delegate and twice a member of the Assembly. *Portrait and Biographical Record*. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:551. Kelly, *Arizona*.

All of them wanted the vote [in] our section and were there in force. The people of Springerville again had me on the ticket for Justice of the Peace—I was elected. John G. spent on that election about \$20,000. All sorts of fraud were alleged, particularly in Yavapai county. After the polls were closed I followed the returns to Prescott. Wired Stevens at Tucson of the wholesale frauds; he sent Theodore Farley,¹⁵² the District Attorney of Pima county, up to Prescott to consult with me and to take any legal proceedings he thought necessary. We found that the returns from Pinal county had not shown up, nor never did show up as they were almost solid for Stevens. Without the Pinal vote it was useless to attempt anything; this fact being wired to Steve, he said let her go. Farley returned to Tucson and I to the Little Colorado—John G. received the certificate of election. That election cost him his financial ruin; he died without anything worth mentioning.

Up to this time Prescott had succeeded in hogging about everything in the matter of county offices; the eastern end of the county and, in fact, any other part of the county outside of Prescott were practically ignored altogether. That winter—1879—the legislature met at Prescott. There had been some talk about a division of the county on account of the state of affairs as above related, and to circumvent any county division, Prescott put Jim Stinson¹⁵³ on “their” ticket to represent our section, he being solemnly pledged against any county division. Sol Barth and myself resolved to go up and see what could be done in the matter of dividing the county. M. W. Stewart¹⁵⁴ was Speaker of the House, and the “Silver Tongue” orator—Tom Fitch¹⁵⁵—the leader

152. I have no information on Farley.

153. James Stinson is listed as a member of the 10th Legislative Assembly as representative from Snowflake, Yavapai County. *Acts and Resolutions*. He arrived in Arizona in 1873 and settled at the site of Snowflake. He sold out his holdings in 1878 to William J. Flake. Erastus Snow and Flake combined their last names to give the settlement the name of Snowflake. Udall, *Historical Sketch*, p. 6.

154. M. W. Stewart, Speaker of the House, represented Pima county in the 10th Legislative Assembly. Kelly, *Arizona*.

155. Thomas Fitch emigrated to California in 1860. In 1864 he moved to Nevada and was elected to Congress in 1868. Then he wandered to Utah, California, and Arizona, arriving in 1877. He represented Yavapai county in 1878. Professionally, he was a lawyer and journalist. 10th Legislative Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions* (Prescott, 1877). Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 289.

of the Yavapai delegation in the House. At this time I was a U. S. Deputy Marshal under Major C. P. Dake¹⁵⁶ Marshal for the Territory; Jim Speedy¹⁵⁷ of Tucson, a friend of mine, was a member from Pima county. The mercurial Sam Purdy¹⁵⁸ of Yuma county, also my old time friend, represented Yuma county.

We got the Bill introduced; Fitch and Stinson worked, traded, sold themselves on all and any proposition they could, along with the other members of Yavapai, to defeat the Bill. They had my friend Sam Purdy pledged, of which I was ignorant at the time. One morning before the legislature convened, and the day set for the "Apach[e] Bill" to come up, I met Speedy and said to him, "Jim, I want you to vote for our Bill today." Laughingly he put his hand behind his back. I said, "Rats, you know I can't do that." Jim then says, "How do you stand with Major Dake, I want the Deputyship for Tucson." I replied that perhaps I could fix it; would see him in a few minutes.

I went to the Major's office and told him what I wanted, and said further that perhaps we may need his vote on other matters, and it would be well to make the appointment; the Major said all right, bring Mr. Speedy up here and introduce him. I took Jim up at once, and going into the Major's private office I said, "Major, this is Mr. Speedy of whom I have spoken to you about the deputy marshalship for Pima county." After a few seconds conversation, we stepped into the main office and the Major says to his chief clerk, Mr. Bowden, "Please make out an appointment for James Speedy of Tucson."

The House convened; the Apache Bill was called; several members were absent, among them was Sam Purdy; Fitch moved a call of the House, the Sargeant of Arms—Sidney

156. Major Crawley P. Dake served in the Civil War. He was appointed United States Marshal for Arizona in 1878, settled in Prescott, and died there, April 9, 1890. *Portrait and Biographical Record*.

157. James Speedy, representative from Pima county in the 10th Legislative Assembly. *Acts and Resolutions*.

158. Samuel Purdy, son of the one-time Governor of California, arrived in Arizona in 1874 as superintendent of a land company. He located in Yuma and represented his county in three assemblies. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 301. Kelly, *Arizona. Acts and Resolutions* of the several assemblies.

W. Carpenter¹⁵⁹—was instructed to fetch in the absentees; I rushed out at the heels of Carpenter. Sid. asked if I knew where Purdy was; I said yes, and would look after Purdy while you hunt up the other two members. I sent Carpenter off up Montezuma street on a "cold trail," and started to find Purdy, and did find him on Granite Street as usual. Telling Sam what was up I said you must vote for our Bill. "Can't do it," says Sam, "I am pledged to Fitch and Stinson against it." I replied that I didn't care a d—m what he had pledged to those fellows, I want you to vote for that Bill. I then gave him some very good reasons for doing so—some others of inside portent. "Is that so?" Come on says Sam and we went on a run for the House.

As we reached the House, the all [call?] had been raised and something was then up. Sam rushed in and without taking his seat asked the Speaker what matter was then before the House and was told it was the Apache Bill. "Before that Bill comes to a vote I desire to make a few remarks," [Sam said,] and then turning towards Fitch and Stinson, pointing his finger at them said, "You have deliberately lied to me in this matter." This was a bombshell in the enemy's camp. He then went on and made a redhot speech in favor of the Bill, and said, "I shall vote for this bill, notwithstanding my pledge to those fellows, and I hope my friends in the House will do the same." The Bill passed by a majority of two votes. Fremont¹⁶⁰ was Governor and signed the Bill in February, 1879. Sol Barth worked like a Trojan; when we started in on the thing, we did not have a single vote to our credit. After adjournment, Sol and I returned to St. Johns. The Act provided for a special election to be held the first Monday in June, 1879. The Governor appointed all county officers to hold until the special election. The fellow appointed District Attorney came out from Prescott, but not liking the "looks" of thing[s] about St. Johns, he pulled his freight.

159. Sidney Willis Carpenter was originally known as William Henry McDonough. His name was changed by act of the territorial legislature in 1873. *Acts and Resolutions*, p. 55. He was Recorder for Pima county in 1876. Hodge, *Arizona*, p. ix. And served as Sergeant-at-arms in the 10th Legislative Assembly, listed as G. W. Carpenter. The difference in the first initial is probably a clerical error. 10th Legislative Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions*.

160. The famous John C. Fremont, explorer, soldier and politician.

The Board of Supervisors appointed me the District Attorney—and I resigned the J. P. office for Springerville. At the special election held in June, I was elected District Attorney to hold office until the next general election which came off in November, 1880.

At this time, the law made the District Attorneys the collectors of all delinquent taxes. Before the delinquent tax roll had been turned over to me for collection, I told the Board that it was necessary that I give an additional bond as Collector. The Chairman said for his part no bond was necessary, and the other two said the same. However, I said it was the law, and placed the bond before them for approval; it was approved and laid on the table. The Board held their meetings in my office, there being no county buildings at the time. The Board having adjourned and left for their respective homes, I swept out the office all the papers and trash lying on the floor. A day or two afterwards I noticed a paper which had a familiar look, the wind was blowing about, and picking it up I found it was my "bond." Charley Kinnear was the clerk of the Board and he left all the books and papers in my office; I carried my bond in the office and put [it] with the other papers of the Board.

Thomas L. Greer,¹⁶¹ perhaps the largest cattleman in the county, was our Treasurer. At the following meeting of the Board, I turned over to the Treasurer nearly two thousand dollars of delinquent taxes collected. The county had no safe, no buildings, no nothing, and after the Board adjourned, Greer came to my office and requested that I keep all the county monies for him, saying he had no place to keep it, that if he took it to the ranch he must stick it in a crack somewhere, and if held up the county would lose the money; that if I kept the money no one would know that I had it. I agreed—without responsibility—as I too had no place except a trunk in which to keep the "dough." The old man says, "All right, I am responsible, and that is why I wish to leave it in your care." At the next tri-monthly meeting I turned over about \$1,500 more, and the same was done again after adjournment.

161. Thomas L. Greer is mentioned as Treasurer of Apache county, 1880, in *Fish, Manuscript*, 3:646.

The election in November, 1880, I was elected Probate Judge.¹⁶² The law provided at the time that Judges of Probate take office on the first Monday in December following their election; this was done that the Probate Judges should swear into office all other county officers. At this election Sol Barth was elected to the Council, and Jerome B. Barton¹⁶³ and — York¹⁶⁴ to the House. I accompanied Sol to Prescott, and was appointed Door Keeper¹⁶⁵ to the Council for the session. Sol and I roomed together at old man Ehle's house.

At this session Frank M. Murphy¹⁶⁶ was a member of the "Third House." The Sherman Bill¹⁶⁷ was introduced. This bill was to attach a salary to the office of Territorial Superintendent of Public Schools, which at this time was an appointive office of the Governor. The salary was to be \$1,000 per year; Mose Sherman, then teaching the public

162. A. F. Banta, who then went by the name of C. A. Franklin, was elected Probate Judge by "illegal proceedings" in 1880, Apache county. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:646.

Relative to the election of 1882, Fish writes as follows: "Another very odd incident occurred at this election. A. F. Banta was on the ticket for the legislature, and he sent his brother Henry over to Pueblo Colorado (the place that had polled some eighty odd votes at the election before), to work for his interest. Henry was on the ground promptly, but like the election two years before, it did not come off so Banta did not even get a chance to put in his own vote. He returned to St. Johns and reported that there was no election held at Pueblo Colorado. In a few days, in came the returns from Pueblo Colorado with 86 votes polled there, all against Banta. These votes were all counted in as they had been at the election before." *Ibid.*, 3:647.

Fish also states that two Supervisors of Apache county in 1880 allowed themselves \$10 pay per diem. "The Probate Judge, A. F. Banta made some objections to this but there was never a cent returned." *Ibid.*, 3:646.

Banta is also mentioned as Superintendent of Public Schools, Apache county, in 1881. *Arizona Sentinel*, November 26, 1881.

163. J. Barton is listed as representative from Apache county in the 11th Legislative Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions* (Prescott, 1881).

164. G. R. York is listed as a representative in the 11th Legislative Assembly from Apache county. *Ibid.*

165. He is listed as C. J. Franklin, Doorkeeper for the Council in *Acts and Resolutions* for the session of that year. The initial J is no doubt a clerical error. The legislature of 1881 passed an act granting Charles A. Franklin, Probate Judge, Apache county, a leave of absence to go out of the county. This was probably to enable him to accept the position as doorkeeper. *Acts and Resolutions*, p. 3. See Note 162.

166. Frank M. Murphy settled in Santa Rosa, California, in 1875, and moved to Prescott, Arizona, two years later. He served as Lieut. Col. in the Territorial Militia and as aid to the Governor. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 289. He was President of the Prescott National Bank when it was organized in 1883. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:750. Fish gives the date of arrival in Arizona as 1878.

167. H. M. Sherman is mentioned as Superintendent of Public Instruction for the fiscal year ending January 10, 1883. 12th Legislative Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions*, p. 212.

school at Prescott, was Governor Safford's appointee. The Bill hung fire for some time; the Democrats refusing to approve it on political grounds.

One evening late in the session, Frank Murphy called me out and said I want to talk to [you] about certain matters. We went to the court house plaza then surrounded with a board fence. Frank then says, "You have heard of the Sherman Bill." I replied that I had and that it would not pass the Legislature. "I know it will not," says Frank, "I have tried in vain, and dare not allow the thing to come to a vote, but have been told by friends here that if I could secure your co-operation the Bill could be put through." He then went into the merits of the measure, giving many good reasons why the measure had ought to pass, etc. etc. I agreed to help him out in the matter.

Barth was and is now a redhot Democrat; that night I said to Sol, "I want you to vote for the Sherman Bill." He replied that he would not and that he would see that the Bill did not pass. I says all right, I'll bet you a box of the best cigars in town that the Sherman Bill does pass both Houses and is signed by the Governor. He took the bet and thence forward worked harder than ever against its passage.

Murat Masterson—Democrat—was President of the Council. Meeting Murat on the street I said, "Murat, I want you to vote for the Sherman Bill." "Can't do it, am pledged to Sol against it." "I don't care a snap how much you are pledged to Sol or anyone else, I want your vote on that Bill." Murat says are you interested in that Bill. I said very emphatically that I was and it must be passed nilly willy. "All right, I cannot refuse you Charly, I will vote for the Bill."

As doorkeeper of the Council my place was outside the railing facing the President, to whom I announced all persons having business before that body. The Bill came up and the voting began, Barth being first on the roll call voted first; I stood up facing the President who voted last on roll call. When the Secretary of the Council called, "Mr. President," I caught Murat's eye and he said, "Aye." "You are a d—m liar," says Sol and jumping up from his seat said,

“Your d—m Capitol can go to h—l, I am going home,” and he left the chamber; as he passed me he said, “Come on, I’m going home.” I laughed and replied, “Don’t be silly Sol, I told you the Bill would pass.” As Sol went out Louis B. St. James and two other men in the lobby¹⁶⁸ instantly sprung to their feet and left the House. I stepped to the door to see the fun, as I knew Sol was mad clear thru, and saw St. James on one side of Sol and the others on the opposite side and all were talking in an excited manner. They finally mollified Sol, but he did not show up for roll call for three days afterwards. In those days the Capitol “was on wheels,” and was used as a “club” to force the Yavapai members to vote measures against their better judgment. And as a consequence, many doubtful measures were passed and became laws.

At this session of '81, John W. Dorrington¹⁶⁹ of Yuma—Sam Purdy being “shelved”—introduced a bill, or rather an amendment to change the time for Probate Judges to take office, making them go in at the same time all others did—on the first of January following their election. This gave me two years and a month in the office of Probate Judge of Apache county. Our county was in the 3rd judicial district, Chief Justice C. G. W. French¹⁷⁰ the judge. Judge French appointed me his Court Commissioner for Apache county. During my term of Probate Judge, Thos. L. Greer¹⁷¹ died intestate, with an estate amounting to about \$40,000. Of course the jackleg lawyers tried to get in their work, but I would not stand for it and settled up the estate at a total cost of \$80. The records of the court will show this to be true.

168. Banta apparently uses the word Lobby here to mean influencing legislators rather than the hallway of the building. There is no mention of Louis B. St. James as a member of the legislature in either the 10th or 11th Assembly, *Acts and Resolutions*; nor in Kelly, *Arizona*, a legislative reference book. He came to Arizona at the time of the gold strike of 1863. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:341. He served as Sergeant-at-arms for the Council in the 19th Legislative Assembly, 1897. *Journals* (1897).

169. J. W. Dorrington arrived in Arizona in 1869. He was head of the Sentinel company which established the *Arizona Sentinel* at Yuma in 1872. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:748; owner and editor of the paper from 1881 to 1911. Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 363; and served in the 9th, 11th, 12th and 13th Legislative Assembly. Kelly, *Arizona. Acts and Resolutions* for the several legislatures.

170. Charles Grafton Wilberton French “who has, for two successive terms, filled the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona . . .” was appointed to that position, December 16, 1875. Elliott, *Arizona*, pp. 286-88.

171. See Note 161.

The general election of 1882 I was elected to the 12th Legislative Assembly for Apache county; Henry E. Lacy¹⁷² to the Council. We went to Prescott and had rooms with Price Behan that winter; the weather was fearfully cold a good part of the time. Tritle¹⁷³ was then Governor. Before the organization of the House, we held a caucus to agree upon our Speaker, and decided upon W. A. Rowe¹⁷⁴ of Yavapai county. When we met Rowe's name was placed in nomination; E. B. Gifford,¹⁷⁵ of Pima county, nominated C. A. Franklin¹⁷⁶ for the Speakership, which was seconded by several members—I had already seconded the nomination of Rowe. I declined the nomination, stating that I had pledged myself to Rowe. However they insisted on it, saying I was sure of election; Charly Taylor,¹⁷⁷ a Yavapai member, urged me [to] take the Speakership, several speeches were made in my favor, in which one of the speakers said it would be a feather in my cap. To all I positively declined to accept, and asked that my name be withdrawn. Rowe was elected.

Of course, having made Rowe Speaker, he appointed me chairman of several important committees, the principal one being Chairman of the Appropriation Committee. During the whole session Rowe always called me to take the Chair when in Committee of the Whole—with one or two exceptions, when circumstances prevented me. I will relate one

172. H. E. Lacy was a member of the Council from Apache county in the 12th Legislative Assembly. *Acts and Resolutions*.

173. Frederick A. Tritle was born in Pennsylvania, August 7, 1833. He resided in Nevada from 1860 to 1880 then moved to Arizona for reasons of health. He was appointed Governor, February 6, 1882, and served until October, 1885. *Portrait and Biographical Record*. He served as Governor until May 5, 1886, according to Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:366, 3:635; but Wyllys, *Arizona*, gives the date as October. It may be that Fish means active service, because he gives the date of October 14, 1885, for the appointment of Tritle's successor, Governor Zulick. 3:636.

174. W. A. Rowe served in the 10th Legislative Assembly from Yavapai county. He was Speaker of the House in the 12th Legislative Assembly, served in the 22nd territorial legislature (1903), and was President of the constitutional convention of 1891. Kelly, *Arizona*.

175. E. B. Gifford represented Pima county in the 11th and 12th Legislative Assembly. Kelly, *Arizona*. He donated land for the University of Arizona. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

176. This, of course, is Albert Franklin Banta, author of these memoirs. See Note 40.

177. Charles Taylor represented Yavapai county in the 12th Legislative Assembly. Banta served in this session under the name of C. A. Franklin and W. A. Rowe was Speaker. Kelly, *Arizona*.

little incident of the session in which I held the "whip hand" and used [it] too.

Pat Hamilton¹⁷⁸ had been appointed Immigration Commissioner, but there was no salary to the office. I introduced a bill, or offered a concurrent resolution—I do not remember which—attaching a sal[a]ry of \$2,000 to the office of Commissioner of Immigration. To my surprise it was voted down. Pat was present when vote was taken and looked very glum at the result of the vote. A recess was then taken and as I passed Pat on my way out of the Chamber, he said, "It's all off with me." I said, "Keep a stiff upper lip, I have a card up my sleeve that will surprise 'em plenty." Of course he wanted to know what that "card" was, but I refused to tell him and said, "I'll tell you in time to be present when the thing comes off."

To the Appropriation Bill I attached a "rider" making an appropriation of \$2,000 to the Commissioner of Immigration. The "rider" was not attached by me until the Bill had been completed. Several times some member would get the figgits and call for the appropriation bill. I always had some excuse for not presenting the Bill, as I desired to hold it back to the last three days of the session, so as to force its passage without any amendments. In the meantime I had it whispered among the many attaches of the House, that if the appropriation Bill did not pass they would not get a cent until the meeting of the next legislature two years hence. This put the bunch on the anxious seat. At the proper time I announced to the House that the appropriation bill was ready to be acted upon and sent it to the clerk's desk. Immediately the House went into Committee of the Whole—myself in the Chair. All went smoothly until that "rider" was struck, and then the fun began. All the attaches were present, also my friend Pat Hamilton. Roars and kicks were

178. Pat (Patrick?) Hamilton served in the 10th Legislative Assembly representing Yavapai county. *Acts and Resolutions*. The 11th Legislative Assembly commissioned him to prepare and distribute reports on the resources of Arizona in order to attract capital to the Territory. *Ibid.*, p. 90-91. He did a good job and published *The Resources of Arizona* . . . (Prescott, Arizona, 1881); a 2nd edition in 1883 (A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco); and *Arizona: For Home, for health, for investment* (Phoenix Arizona, 1886)

made in plenty; finally Judge John Anderson,¹⁷⁹ member from Pinal arose and said, "Gentlemen (a smile on his face), you sometime ago voted down the resolution on this subject, introduced by the Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, and he has simply turned a trick you were not expecting; it is now too late in the session for amendments; all these clerks here present are anxious for their pay; we had better pass the bill at once without any further ado." The House having finished the consideration of the Bill, the Committee arose. The Bill then had a 1st reading in full and read second time by title, went over until the next day. It came up for passage and passed without a dissenting vote. To be sure it was sharp practice on my part, but I resolved not to allow spite to interfere with a right or public duty. Hamilton was the best qualified man in the Territory for the work in hand; he was obliged to go over the whole Territory and did so, and with the data acquired he got out *The Resources of Arizona*.

One other little incident of the session and I'll have done with the 12th. A resolution was passed appropriating \$250 out of any available funds in the Territorial Treasury—not a dollar in the Treasury at the time—for the purchase of postage stamps for the use of the members, including the Chief Clerk of the House, twenty-five in all—ten dollars each. By direction of the House the Speaker appointed me to confer with the Postmaster on the subject, T. W. Otis¹⁸⁰ being Postmaster. Mr. Otis informed me that he could not accept a Territorial Warrant in payment for stamps; that the cash must be paid. Returning to the House I reported the result of my mission. Then a talkfest began lasting some minutes. To solve the difficulty I offered to buy the stamps, pay the Postmaster the \$250; the House to allow by resolution in the Appropriation Bill that sum to me in Territorial

179. J. W. Anderson represented Pinal county in the 5th, 11th and 12th Legislative Assembly. *Acts and Resolutions*. Kelly, *Arizona*. When Hodge last visited the Silver King mine, Judge Anderson was secretary of the company. Hodge, *Arizona*, p. 121. A short biographical sketch is in Farish, *Arizona*, 6:53. I assume that J. W. is the John Anderson that Banta mentions; he was an attorney, but I find no mention of a judgeship.

180. Theodore W. Otis was appointed postmaster, September 7, 1875. *Weekly Arizona Miner*, September 17, 1875.

warrant, with the usual discount then prevailing in the market on such warrants, such discount to be added to the original sum paid out for the stamps. My proposition was unanimously accepted by the House, and I bought the stamps.

Sometime in the latter part of the session, Judge John Anderson of Pinal offered a resolution covering the aforementioned proposition. To his amazement the resolution was opposed by a number of the members. The Judge used some pretty strong language, and said if they had no regard for their word then let each member pay the gentleman his \$10, "I am ready to pay mine." And the Judge started towards my desk with a ten dollar bill in his hand. The resolution passed without a dissenting vote.¹⁸¹ This little incident proved that even in legislative bodies are found men of doubtful principles.

Some of the principal measures I had passed were: an Act authorizing the county of Apache to issue bonds for the erection of Court House and Jail; an Act regulating freight and fares on railroads—killed in the Council; an Act amending the Fee bill of all county officers, a scaling down of from five to twenty per cent, and several other minor measures.

(To be continued)

181. Banta advanced the sum of \$370 for postage and received in exchange Territorial Warrants plus 17%. The story is told in the 12th Legislative Assembly, *Journals*, pp. 104, 146, 156.

He introduced a bill for the incorporation of St. Johns. It was approved by the legislature but does not appear in the *Session Laws 1883*. Presumably Governor Tritle vetoed it. *Journals*, pp. 144, 167, 293, 309.

The bill dealing with "fees of officers" became a law. *Sessions Laws 1883*, pp. 223-231.

Banta also sponsored a bill to tax the net proceeds of mines, but it did not pass. *Journals*, pp. 335, 406, 564.

The act authorizing bonds for a courthouse and jail was passed by the 11th Legislative Assembly. *Acts and Resolutions*; and bonds for a jail were authorized by the 12th Legislative Assembly according to Kelly, *Arizona*.

Notes and Documents

Dr. Marion Dargan, retired professor of history at the University, died at VA Hospital today [Sept. 3] following a long illness. He was 64.

Dr. Dargan came to the University in 1929 after receiving degrees from Chicago and Columbia Universities and teaching in Illinois and Texas.

He was given a full professorship in 1935 and was named professor emeritus in 1950 when he retired.

Dr. Dargan's specialty was colonial history.

While at the University he introduced a course in biography and his syllabus on this was published under the title of *A Guide to American Biography*.

Early this summer, University President Tom Popejoy and France Scholes, academic vice-president, presented Dr. Dargan with a homage volume entitled *The Dargan Historical Essays*.

Dr. Dargan is survived by his widow; two daughters, Mrs. Don Erickson, Denver, and Mrs. Ross Schmidt, Cleveland; a son, Lt. Marion Dargan III, serving with the Sixth Atlantic Fleet; a sister, Mrs. Rufus Cain, Little Rock, S. C.; and a brother, William Dargan, in Ohio.

Dear Dr. Reeve:

I would like to have the following correction inserted in an early issue of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, if possible.

Through an error on my part, I misquoted a portion of Mr. Schlessinger's translation which appears in my article "Documentary Evidence" etc. in volume XXVII, number 2. Line 5 on page 139 should be corrected to read "both sides of the rivers [Gila and lower Salt]." Mr. Treutlein's translation, referred to in footnote 11 of the same page, is correct.

Just what Pfefferkorn, who left the area in 1767 and wrote in 1794, meant by stating both sides of these two rivers were occupied by the Cocomaricopa, is not clear.

Sedelmayr, who in 1746 reported on his travels along these rivers, listed the various Cocomaricopa villages, and *all* were on the Gila below the Gila-Salt junction. Garces, in 1776, did not mention any Cocomaricopa villages on the Salt. Apparently Pfefferkorn erred in his statement as all evidence indicates there was no occupation on the lower Salt. In fact, his statement is so similar to that of Sedelmayr's (see Ronald Ives, Bulletin 123, Bureau of American Ethnology, page 107) I suspect the error crept in when he paraphrased the passage.

Sincerely yours,
ALBERT H. SCHROEDER

Book Reviews

The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest, 1848-1860. Averam B. Bender. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1952. Pp. xii, 323. Illustrations. \$5.00.

Vast deserts, strange plants and peoples, unique physiography, weird varieties of climate, magnificent distances, and a mysterious archaeology insure an ever romantic Southwest. All significant books on this region reflect this invigorating spirit of romance. Dr. Bender in *The March of Empire* has written what essentially stands as a series of valuable essays on the frontier defense of this region in the years 1848-1860. Long a student of the Southwest in the period immediately following the Mexican War, he has made available in this volume his valuable research, and the romance of the Southwest saturates its pages.

The book is composed of fourteen chapters, all of which represent real spadework in many centers of research, much of the material coming from government archives in Washington. Chapter III is reprinted from the *Pacific Historical Review* and Chapter VII from the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

In the opinion of this reviewer some of the chapters are considerably more interesting than others, but the value and high standard of the work is found throughout. Dr. Bender appears to be at his best in matters touching the life of the soldier on the frontier.

Several chapters of the book explain how exploration and surveys—both land and water—were vital factors in effecting an initial system of defense. He discusses the establishment of forts throughout the region and gives major emphasis to the evolution of an Indian policy for the far flung Indian tribes of the region. The analysis of frontier pressure groups and their power in the establishment of a system of defense is excellent. Many obscure but important personalities—Indians, politicians and settlers—are resurrected from an undeserved obscurity. The importance of

their work is set forth with vigor. Stimulating vignettes dot the pages.

The Indian policy and the subsequent defense policy of the government simmer down to one of monotonous expediency—the usual one in pioneer days—with always a design of noble intention and high idealism, but an end result of confusion, frustration and bureaucratic inefficiency, shared rather equally by the military and civilian authorities. It is amazing how the American Indian has survived with the character and spirit which still characterizes him, subjected as he was to this tragic and fateful experience. Anyone who has studied the Indian problem doubts, however, that any better system could have been devised at the time, especially with conditions which then prevailed in the far American west.

Dr. Bender's volume will appeal more to the student and specialist than to the general reader and litterateur. It is an excellent summary of a vast field and will prove to be a valuable reference that should be found in all libraries on the far west. Throughout, it is a rather handsome volume with a copious set of references and notes and an admirable index. Several detailed maps would have enhanced the interest and value of this important book.

R. H. OGLE

Phoenix High Schools and Phoenix College System

Iturbide of Mexico. William Spence Robertson. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1952. Pp. ix, 361. \$6.00.

Iturbide, like most of the outstanding men of Mexico, has long needed an adequate biography. Certainly scholars will use Professor Robertson's well documented book for years to come when they study the period 1808-1823, for in presenting the biographical material on Iturbide the author has developed the other great figures and factors of the period. Even though he is rather pro-Iturbide, he still does justice to the opposition.

The author describes the early life of Iturbide and his

moves up the conservative military ladder during the period when Hidalgo and Morelos were attempting to overthrow the Spanish rule in Mexico. One then watches Iturbide gradually turn toward the idea of independence with himself as the new leader. Here Robertson has done a good job in demonstrating that Iturbide had a much broader popular support than has been previously imagined.

The Plan of Iguala is examined carefully and Robertson does an especially skillful job in developing the genesis of that famous plan. The author then describes the events leading up to the establishment of Mexican independence and the proclamation of Iturbide as emperor. The reader is left with no doubts that Iturbide, as emperor, had many drawbacks.

Probably the weakest part of the book is to be found in the reasons given for Iturbide's overthrow. In the reviewer's opinion this final section could have been strengthened by checking Dr. Nettie Lee Benson's article on the Plan of Casa Mata in the February, 1945 issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* which evaluates the influence of states rights on the ultimate success of the revolt against Iturbide. But even granting this deficiency the work will certainly stand up as a good biography.

WALTER V. SCHOLLES

University of Missouri

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